DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 201 445 RC 012 673

AUTHOR	Stannard, Charles I.
TITLE	Problems of Project Direction and Coordination: North Country Supervisory Union, New Hampshire.
INSTITUTION	Abt Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	May 79
CONTRACT	400-78-0034
NOTE	348p.; For related documents see RC 012 669-672 and RC 012 674-675. This report was one of a series of site-specific case studies within the Longitudinal Study of Educational Change in Rural America.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC14 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Attitudes; *Administrator Role; Agency Role; Building Trades; Career Education; Community Attitudes; Community Characteristics; *Educational Change; Educational Planning; Elementary Secondary Education; Federal Aid; Federal Programs; Government School Relationship; Language Arts; Outdoor Education; Politics; Program Implementation; Psychological Services; Reading Improvement; Rural Education; *Rural Schools; *School District Autonomy; Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Experimental Schools Program; *New Hampshire

ABSTRACT

With the reorganization of the Experimental Schools Council, administrative support and power were mobilized and the Experimental Schools (ES) project in New Hampshire's North Country Supervisory Union began to accomplish its goals in its third year. The project was hampered by the independence of the three districts included in the loose supervisory union. The districts shared problems of funding, state regulations, and community apathy, but their historical localism impeded collaborative planning. The first year (planning) of the ES program, initiated by one principal, was hampered by district autonomy, lack of effective leadership, and much wasted time. No specific agenda existed at the beginning of the first operational year, also characterized by poor planning. Still, four major components (language arts, psychological services, outdoor education, and most important, career/vocational education) were implemented. Major problems were lack of project director authority, local dissatisfaction with slow progress and high ES salaries, continued ES-district conflicts, and lack of support from Washington. In the third and fourth years, after strenghening of the Council, programs were extended and the building trades program was implemented. When the ES project ended, the career education, reading, and building trades programs had been established but district independence remained unchanged. (SB)

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Problems of Project Direction and Coordination: North Country Supervisory Union, New Hampshire

RC 012673

Charles I. Stannard

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The information reported herein was prepared for the National Institute of Education's Division for the Dissemination and Improvement of Practice under contract no. 400-78-0034. This report was one of a series of site-specific case studies within the Longitudinal Study of Educational Change in Rural America under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Herriott of Abt Associates Inc.

PROBLEMS OF PROJECT DIRECTION AND COORDINATION: NORTH COUNTRY SUPERVISORY UNION, NEW HAMPSHIRE

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May 1979

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PREFACE

This report presents the documentation commissioned by the National Institute of Education (NIE) as part of its study of the Experimental Schools Program for Small Schools Serving Rural Areas. Abt Associates Inc., my employer from 1973 to 1976, was awarded the contract to study this part of the Experimental Schools Program and this report is part of that research.

As a documentation, my report describes in great detail the activities of the Experimental Schools project in North Country Union. It differs from the usual educational research in that it contains few statistics, and certainly no multivariate statistical analyses, but rather attempts to describe the change process within the schools over a three-year period. Because of this focus, the report, while explicitly written for representatives of NIE in Washington to fulfill a contractual obligation, may also be of value to people interested in changing schools, be they educators, social scientists, or concerned laymen. It should provide insight into the problems associated with planned educational change and suggest ways of avoiding or lessening the severity of problems that are likely to arise when such change is attempted.

One useful lesson provided by the report is that of the importance of understanding the local context in which change occurs, especially the local political context. In North Country Union, the context is a supervisory union which diffuses power among three local school districts, which made comprehensive, union-wide change particularly difficult to accomplish. Only when an Experimental Schools Council was created and authorized to deal with union-wide educational plans and programs was the project able to begin to accomplish its goals.

To carry out my research, I moved to northern New England. Though I tried to find a place to live within one of the towns of the supervisory union, I was unable to find housing suitable to my and my family's needs. Thus, I lived in a town adjacent to the union. This did not make my job any easier, since the town I lived in was a rival of one of the towns in the union; some people in the town initially criticized me, both for being an outsider and for not living in the union (though later the chief critic was to say that I was the best representative the Experimental Schools project had in the union). Living outside the union was unfortunate and unavoidable, though I do not think it seriously affected my ability to do the research for this report.

The major research technique which I used was that of participant observation. Essentially, I tried to find out as much as I could about the Experimental Schools project and schooling in the North Country. To do this, I attended school board meetings, PTA meetings, and various school committee meetings; interviewed townspeople, school administrators, and teachers; read minutes of school board meetings and town and school reports; sat in on school classes; and generally tried to be around the schools as much as I could. In meetings, I took detailed notes of who attended, what business transpired, and who in the meetings said what to whom. I often followed up the meetings with personal conversations with participants to clear up issues I did not fully understand, or to find out the background of the meeting. I also interviewed, formally and informally, numerous people. Formal interviews involved my approaching a person with a notebook and a set of questions and then asking the questions and writing down responses. Other interviews involved "informal" conversations between me and a person whom I asked about some event. When I sat in on classrooms, I tried to record the important interactions between students and teachers and students and students. Being around the schools as often as I was gave me the opportunity to witness unplanned or unanticipated events relating to the project. The town and school reports that I read went back to 1900. Minutes of the school board meetings went back to the 1930's.

The varied ways of gathering data on the schools and the project acted as a check on each other. Generally, information gathered in an interview would be corroborated by information gathered in another way, such as at a meeting. Of the various data gathered, I put more weight on natural events I witnessed or events that occurred in meetings that I attended.

I owe a debt to a number of people who aided me in one way or another as I did my research. My greatest debt is to the administrators of North Country School Union and the staff of its Experimental Schools project. They volunteered information about the project and put up with my persistent questions and interviews, even when they had other things to do. These people, and all of the people in the towns of North Country Union, treated me decently; I hope I have treated them fairly in my narrative about their project. A number of other people in the towns and schools were also helpful. These included teachers, townspeople, and school board members, especially the chairman of one of the school boards.

People at Abt Associates in Cambridge were both a help and a hindrance to my research effect. They hindered me by loading me with work not directly related to this report during the early days of my stay in New England State. Later, when they understood my problems and those of the other people like myself in the overall research there were nine other rural sites which had field workers doing what I was doing), they lightened our load which helped considerably. Bob Herriott, Steve Fitzsimmons and Mike Kane also helped by being understanding when deadlines were not met.

Finally, my wife Ellen helped the research. She gathered data for this report and for various Cambridge-initiated cross-site studies. She also helped in the other ways wives and lovers do.

Naperville, Illinois　　　　　　　　Charles Stannard
July, 1978

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SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW

This volume is about the Experimental Schools project in North Country Union, a small school supervisory union in a northern New England state. It focuses on the project and describes its history and development from inception to attempted implementation. The emphasis is on the process of federally stimulated change as it unfolded in this school district, rather than on the particular curricula and activities that were implemented or their impacts on students.

The central drama in the story of this Experimental School (ES) project involves the mobilization of administrative power and support. The project floundered with little direction or impact for over a year, unable to make much headway in the schools, and lacked strong administrative support. As a result of pressure from the project's overseers in Washington, the administration of the supervisory union became increasingly involved in the running of the project and in enforcing compliance by teachers and school principals.

The story of ES in North Country Union is neither simple nor straightforward. This volume is an attempt to portray the halting and indirectly related occurrences that eventually led to the mobilization of support for the project during its second operational year. One major difficulty with the project was that it was not unitary, except in the minds of the project's sponsors in Washington, D.C. Although they provided few guidelines or requirements in an attempt to encourage school districts to plan and implement programs relevant to their particular needs, they saw "comprehensiveness" as the unifying common element to all ten rural ES projects. Indeed, funding was granted on the assumption that unity and coherence existed. One of the major themes to emerge in this volume is that many of the setbacks of the project were attributable to the erroneous assumption on the part of Washington officials that such unity and coherence were present in North Country Union. The union is actually composed of three distinct school districts, each with its own school board under the supervision of one superintendent. The five major components of the ES project reflected the loose ties and often competitive natures of the Union's districts; the lack of unity and coherence initially caused project implementation to be

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fragmentary and largely unplanned, resulting in difficulties of description and analysis.

ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME

This volume is organized into three sections. The remainder of this first section deals with the communities that make up North Country Union. It describes their geography, their historical development, and their more recent economic and social characteristics. The second section describes the schools. It begins with a history of the development of the schools in the North Country Union and focuses on changes that have occurred in the organization and curriculum of the schools since 1900. Then follows a description of the schools' organization as of 1970: how they are administered and funded, and their curriculum. The third section deals with the origin and development of the North Country Union ES project. It begins with an account of the events of the planning year when the project was conceived, followed by a description of the particular components which constituted this project and their development during its first operational year. The theme of the first year was "making it up as you go along." The material describing the second year deals with the mobilization of administrative support for the project and the in-class implementation of a number of its components. The section (and this volume) ends with a summary of the accomplishments of the project during the first four of its six years of federal funding and a statement of the factors that contributed to these accomplishments.

NAMES AND DATA

This volume follows the practice of using psuedonymns for places and people, and generally identifies them in the way that residents of the communities use them. Thus, one community in North Country Union is Papertown. Paperville, the residential and commerical center of the town, is a precinct or village of Papertown. Most people, however, refer to the entire town as Paperville. The school board of the town is officially the Papertown School Board. However, in this volume it is, on occasion, referred to as the Paperville School Board as is locally customary.

The volume contains some long sections of documentation from ES project materials or from my notes of meetings. In trying to deal with these materials, I was faced with the dilemma of either paraphrasing data or of inserting large sections which frequently include extraneous or off-the-point material. I chose to present the data in full rather than to paraphrase because this conveys a better feel for the way people in the schools thought about issues and the types of interaction that occurred.

Two examples of this come to mind and illustrate my reasons for so choosing. In one part of the description of the events of the planning year (Chapter 5), I have included a long section dealing with the original plan that North Country Union presented to Washington for approval. I did this both to present the objectives of the project as stated and to reveal the level of sophistication of the local people in conceptualizing their project. This approach seemed preferable for the purpose of minimizing confusion as to the *goals* of the project and the *means* by which they were to be achieved, and for eliminating personal interpretations and biases from a statement of these data. The second example includes a series of long excerpts from meetings between the federal officials responsible for overseeing this project and local people (Chapter 6). This interaction is obviously important, and the quality of the interaction, especially its abrasiveness, could only become apparent through the inclusion of these long citations.

While this procedure allows the reader to get a better sense of what occurred in North Country Union, it has two drawbacks: it increases the length of some sections, perhaps beyond what is ideal; and, because people seldom deal with issues in a coherent, linear fashion, some of the material contains asides and irrelevancies. I have tried to deal with this through deletions where possible, but in many instances it was not appropriate to do so. The result is that the cited material can wander and be confusing at times. It does, however, provide for a more flavorful and accurate account of the daily social intercourse, and helps to relate the concepts and events of the North Country Union ES project to their particular community context.

CHAPTER TWO: THE COMMUNITIES OF NORTH COUNTRY SUPERVISORY UNION

The fate of the Experimental Schools project in North Country Union was, to some extent, a function of geographic, ecological and historical forces which were often poorly understood by both local project leaders and those federal officials in Washington desirous of testing the efficacy of planned comprehensive educational change. Its small size, isolation from urban areas, declining population and traditions of local autonomy combined to provide formidable obstacles which were never fully overcome.

BASIC GEOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY

North County Supervisory Union consists of the school districts representing the towns of Papertown, Woodington, and Riverton. The union is located in North County in the northern part of New England State. Woodington lies to the east of the towns of Papertown and Riverton, both of which lie on the western border of New England State. The towns vary considerably in size. Riverton is the largest, comprising 81 square miles; Woodington is next in size with 61 square miles; and Papertown is the smallest with 37 square miles. The 1970 population of Papertown was 2,493, of Woodington 343, and of Riverton 980. In Papertown, most of the population (about 2,000) is concentrated in the Paperville area, while about 500 of the Riverton's residents live in North Riverton. Much of the land in all three towns is uninhabited.

The towns of North Country Union are far from any major urban areas. Using Paperville as a reference, the nearest cities in New England State are Frenchtown (27 miles) and Littleville (29 miles), both of which have fewer than 16,000 inhabitants. The nearest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area is the capitol of New England State, which is about 112 miles from Paperville. The nearest major urban areas are Montreal, Canada (130 miles), and Boston (180) miles.

The bulk of the countryside of North Country Union is mountainous and covered with forests. The forests consist of about equal numbers of hardwood and softwood trees. The mountains in North County Union are not as rugged and spectacular as those of other parts of New England State. The

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sheer size of uninhabitied and rugged forest lands in North County Union, however, is often overwhelming.

The two major rivers of the area are the Long River, which flows through the towns of Riverton and Papertown and the Mountain Stream, which flows through the towns of Woodington and Papertown. These two rivers drain the other smaller streams of the area, and the Mountain Stream is itself drained by the Long River.

The Long River--the largest in New England--begins its journey to Long Island Sound in a mountainous area about 50 miles north of Riverton, near the Canadian border. By the time it reaches Riverton, the Long River has grown from a small stream to a sizeable river. It forms the western border of the towns of Riverton and Papertown, as well as the western border of New England State.

The Long enters Riverton flowing in a southwest direction in a series of riffles and pools that are favored by fishermen. As the river reaches the settled area of North Riverton, it bends to a more southerly course and snakes its way through broad meadows towards Papertown.

The Long continues its slow pace, looping through the meadows, and is joined by the Fish a mile below Paperville. Here the river ceases to support fish because of the pollution dumped into it by Mountain Stream. It flows placidly for about five miles before entering the town of Princeton; the only break in its still waters is a small man-made dam near the settled area of Papertown.

Because of the hilly and mountainous terrain, there are not many sizeable ponds or lakes in the district; the several that do exist are man made. The only sizeable body of water in Riverton is Riverton Bog Pond (about 31 acres), which is man made. Woodington has several sizeable bodies of water. North Lake, the largest, comprises about 170 acres; it is located just north of the settlement of Wells. Derby Lake, located in Derby, Vermont across from Riverton Hollow is the only large lake in the immediate area. It is about 3 miles long and 3/4 of a mile wide. Many of the residents of the North County Supervisory Union, especially Paperville, have summer camps on its shores.

The area is characterized by long, cold winters and relatively short summers. On the average, the last killing frost occurs around the end of May and the first one occurs about the middle of September. The result is a short growing season--about 112 days. The average temperature for the year is about 40°F. The winters are cold, averaging between 16°F and 20°F with temperatures sometimes below -30°F. The spring is characterized by temperature extremes. In the summer, the average daily temperature ranges from highs in the upper 70's to lows around 50°F. In the fall, the high temperatures average in the low 60's, while the low temperatures average about 40°F.

Precipitation occurs regularly throughout all seasons of the year and averages 38 inches per year. Snowfall, though varying from year to year, averages about 100 inches from the mid to lower elevations.

With the exception of the settled areas, virtually all the other land in the area is covered by forest, which provides wood for paper, saw, and veneer mills.

Settlement patterns are closely related to general topographical and soil conditions in North County Union. The rugged, hilly terrain and rocky soil have made settlements feasible only in the lowlands and river valleys. Even the less rugged slopes which were once farmed have long been given over to forests. Occasionally one finds evidence of abandoned farms: out-of-place and scraggly apple trees, the remnants of orchards, or the slight depressions of old cellar holes.

A majority of the contemporary residents earn their living in wood-related industries; most of them work in a paper mill in Paperville; others work in the two sawmills in Paperville or in North Riverton, or in procuring lumber for these mills. The sawmills take advantage of the proximity of large forested tracts. For the paper company, the Fish River supplies the additional requirements of a steady source or water.

EARLY SETTLEMENT, 1760-1840: DISCOVERY AND SLOW GROWTH

Certain geographical factors such as the distance from the seacoast, the barriers created by the mountains, the absence of any rivers or series of rivers navigable to the seacoast, and the long winters and short summers have been constant impediments to the settlement and development of the North Country.

Prior to the colonization and settlement of America, the North Country was a hunting and fishing ground of the Abenaquis Indians, who lived in the

St. Lawrence River valley and had a large encampment at what came to be St. Francis, Quebec. A series of lakes and rivers enabled the Abenaquis to travel from Canada to the Maine coast. Such voyages took the Indians through what were to become the towns of North Country School Union.

The first recorded visit by white men to the North Country was unplanned and involuntary. In 1752 a small hunting party was captured by Indians and taken north to St. Francis, passing through North Country on the way. They were released later that year and, upon returning, spoke highly of the rich meadows in the river valleys.

Although the beginning of the French and Indian War hindered the settlement of the North Country, it also had the ironical effect of stimulating British interest in the area because the British were concerned that the French would move in and fortify it. As a result of this concern, the Britich commissioned several expeditions to ascertain French intentions in the North Country.

Although these expeditions were largely unsuccessful, the close of the French and Indian War opened the way for settlement of the North Country. In 1761, the Provincial Governor of New England State granted a charter to a number of townships on the east and west sides of the Long River. The first settlements in the North Country were in the Long River valley, both because the river made that area more accessible and because its meadows were most suitable for farming. With the granting of the charters, Anglo-Saxon settlers from Massachusetts and Connecticut began moving north to settle in the valley.

The three towns in North Country School Union were granted charters between 1761 and 1774. During the Revolutionary War many people left the North Country, including those in the towns of Papertown and Riverton. The towns north of Riverton were abandoned, making Riverton the northernmost American outpost in New England State. No major battles were fought in the North Country during the Revolutionary War. "Alarms," however, did occur in Papertown and Rivertown as bands of Indians, led by the British, periodically raided the settlements. On several occasions, buildings and furnishinings were destroyed and prisoners were taken.

With the end of the Revolutionary War, former settlers returned to the North Country and new settlers arrived. Between 1775 and 1790, the populations of Papertown and Riverton more than doubled. Papertown's population went from 57 in 1775 to 117 in 1790, while Riverton's population went from 41 to 156 during the same interval. In 1790, 7 years after Woodington's first settlers came, its population was listed as 48.

Tasks which faced the early settlers included clearing the land for pasture and tillage and building homes. The first homes were log cabins. In Riverton, the cabins were built in the meadows of the Long River, but spring freshets forced their removal to higher ground.

Roads and bridges also had to be constructed in the wilderness where there existed only occasional Indian paths. Because good roads that were passable with wagons were not constructed until after 1800, travel to cities and towns outside the area was an arduous and perilous task. The Long River was a southern route, travelled by canoes when the river was flowing and by ox cars when it was frozen. Accidents were not uncommon. The stretch of water below Bellville (called "15-mile falls") was especially treacherous. The other route was through the mountains. A "notch" through the mountains was discovered in 1771, but it was a very difficult road to travel until it was improved and made a turnpike in 1803. Until then, however, difficult and infrequent travel to and from the outside world hindered the exchange of farm goods for cash or barter.

Another task facing the inhabitants was the construction of grist and sawmills which were needed to produce lumber for housing and to prepare locally grown grains for consumption. In Riverton, it was some time before adequate grist mills were built. Before their construction, grain had to be taken for processing to Bellville, some 20 miles south of the present location of Paperville. The towns appropriated money and land in order to facilitate the construction of the mills; construction involved damming small streams and rivers to create a head of water that was used to drive the saws or stones.

In addition to farming, the settlers supported themselves by hunting and fishing. Moose and beaver were abundant and were hunted for both their meat and their pelts; the nose of the moose and the tail of the beaver were considered delicacies. The slaughter of these animals--the moose was especially vulnerable in the spring when the snow crusted over--was so great that both animals were scarce by 1800. After the moose were nearly extinct, the white-tailed deer moved into the area; the first deer were seen around Princeton in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Prior to the building of meeting houses in each of the towns, religion was practiced in the home. The religion of the day was Congregational. Papertown erected its meeting house in 1799, and Riverton's was built around 1810. Riverton began one in 1808 or 1809; it was never completed, though its wood was used in the construction of another one. Churches and denominations did not proliferate in the towns until the middle part of the nineteenth century.

Prior to political incorporation, the towns were run by "proprietors," many of whom never settled in them. After incorporation in New England State, the towns were organized into the selectman-town meeting form of government. Town officers were elected at the annual town meeting in which all qualified voters (i.e., male property holders), voted. Town officers were elected for one-year terms; officer positions included a moderator for the town meeting, three selectmen, a constable, and various minor officials such as hog reeves and fence viewers. Town budgets were also approved.

By 1800, the towns of North Country Union had been established and populated by "independent, healthy farmers," according to a local historian. Economic institutions were primitive, and trade was chiefly by means of barter. The towns were self-governing, and religious institutions had been established. Town records indicate that funds had been appropriated for schooling and that common schools had been established. Roads, poor but passable, were under construction, linking inhabitants with each other and the outside world. Some sense of the size of the tasks confronting the first settlers can be inferred from the fact that in 1805, after more than 20 years of work, Riverton had only 46 acres or arable land, 123 acres for mowing, and 30 acres for pasture.

The next 40 years in the history of the towns of Riverton, Woodington, and Papertown were years of gradual growth. In 1800, the combined population of the three towns was 626. Riverton had the most inhabitants--281; Papertown had 205 inhabitants; and Woodington had 140 inhabitants. Forty years later, in 1840, the total population for the three towns had almost doubled to 1,188. Riverton was still the largest town with 441 inhabitants. Papertown followed with 398 inhabitants, and Woodington's population had increased to 349. Although during this period many of the original settlers and their decendents emigrated to Canada or the western United States in search of a climate and topography better suited to farming, the population continued to increase because of immigration from the neighboring New England states.

Farming continued to be the main occupation; there was only limited manufacturing or commerce in the three towns. The census of 1840 indicates that only 12 people in Riverton and only 15 people in Papertown were engaged in "manufacture and trades;" only two people in Papertown were engaged in "commerce." No one in Woodington was listed in either of these occupational categories.

During this period the only manufacturing was done in saw and grist mills. The sawmills were mainly adjuncts to farming because of their small size; the difficulties of transporting materials out of the area and the availability of lumber in the southern part of the state precluded the export of lumber.

The road through the Notch to the seacoast was constructed in 1803 with funds raised by lottery. A year later, in 1804, another turnpike was chartered from Brookville, north of Riverton, through a notch to Seatown. Both of these roads increased travel and trade between the North Country and the outside world. It was along these roads that wagons and carts laden with the produce of the farms of the North Country traveled to the growing cities along the coast and returned with goods and supplies that could not be made or grown locally.

The nearest trading center was Princeton, south of Papertown. It served as the trading center because it was located on the road through the Notch to Seatown. Petitions which complained about the long and difficult journey to Jonesville, the shiretown of the County, were presented to the state legislature by the residents of the North Country and led to the creation of North County in 1803. The selection of Princeton as the county seat also added to its importance as a trading center.

The flow of farm products and supplies to and from North County stimulated a need for taverns and hostelries to feed and shelter the travelers. Though the more famous of these were located in and beyond the "Notch" itself, taverns were to be found in each of the towns of Riverton, Papertown, and Woodington. Again, these taverns appear to have been adjuncts to the main business of agriculture.

The great distance from urban markets prevented agricultural specialization, and the climate and topography of the region made farming a difficult venture. The farms were generally quite small. By 1827, arable land in Riverton had only increased to 148 acres and mowing land had only increased to 166 acres. The farm products included dairy products (primarily butter and cheese), grains including oats and buckwheat, wool, hemp, maple, sugar, beef, and potatoes. Most of the products were consumed locally; the surplus was sent south to market. Wool was used in the clothing mills in other parts of the state and in neighborhing states, while hemp was exported to produce rope.

1840-1970: GROWTH AND STASIS IN NORTH COUNTRY

The towns of Papertown, Woodington, and Riverton developed slowly during the period from their founding until 1840. By 1840, all three towns were sparsely populated and varied in size from 350 to 440 people. They were all farming communities with limited commercial development. Eventually railroads came to the North Country and spurred the development of a vigorous lumbering and wood products economy, so that after 1840 all three towns grew substantially in size. This period of growth was so marked that one could safely say that all three towns went through boom periods.

The period of greatest growth was between 1840 and 1880. During this period, the population of all three towns increased 2.3 times and was increasing about 53 percent every 20 years. Between 1880 and 1940, the rate of growth declined substantially and averaged about 14 percent every 20 years. Since 1940, when the total population of the three towns (and county) peaked, the population has declined slightly. Between 1940 and 1960, the population of the three towns decreased 5 percent, and between 1960 and 1970 it decreased another three percent.

Woodington and Riverton have had similar growth patterns which were closely tied to lumbering. Both towns grew in size until 1900. After 1900, when the logging and lumber industry died in these towns, the population

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dropped precipitously. Between 1900 and 1920, Woodington's population dropped 54 percent and Riverton's population dropped 30 percent. Woodington's population has remained more or less constant since 1920, varying between 352 people in 1940 and 327 people in 1960.

Unlike Woodington, Riverton has regained some of the population that it lost between 1900 and 1920. Between 1920 and 1940, Riverton's population increased 32 percent to 1,049 people. The increase occurred between 1920 and 1925 and was due primarily to the location of a large stave and heading mill in North Riverton. The mill was built by a sugar company and made use of the abundant hardwood in the Indian River valley. Houses for the employees were also constructed at that time. The development of paper and cloth bags, however, made barrels obsolete, and the mill folded shortly after it opened. Riverton maintained its population, though, because the mill was bought by the Greene Co., which converted it to a plywood mill. Riverton's population has remained more or less constant since 1940.

In constrast to Woodington and Riverton, Papertown's growth was greatest between 1900 and 1920, when the population of the other two towns was declining. During this period, Papertown's population increased bout 89 percent because of the founding of paper mills in the villages of Paperville and Papertown. Many of the people who had previously lived in Riverton and Woodington came to Papertown to live and work. Papertown's growth continued until 1940. Since then, Papertown's population has decreased about 10 percent

Between 1840 and 1970, a number of different ethnic groups immigrated to the North Country. One group consisted of Anglo-Saxons from neighboring New England states and from Canada. These people were primarily Scotch-Irish Protestants who have moved in and out of the area since its beginning. A second group, the Irish Catholics, came after 1840 with the building of the railroads in the North Country. The third group, the French Canadians, came mostly between 1860 and 1900 with the beginning of lumbering and wood products industries. A number of wood products mills were built in the area. A large sawmill was built in Bloomington, on the Indian River in 1849 and, after 1860, several sawmills were built in Paperville. These mills ushered in the logging era. They turned out millions of board feet of lumber, much of which was shipped by rail to the urban areas of New England. Large log drives began on the Long River after 1860, and millions of board feet of spruce were floated to mills in Southern New England.

The villages of Woodington, Homer, and Wells all supported various saw and wood products mills during the lumbering years. Each of these small villages, located on the railroad lines, boomed as the timber near them was cut and hauled to local mills or log yards. After 1900, when most of the accessible virgin timber had been cut, these villages declined; the town of Woodington lost more than half of its population. Some of these people moved to Frenchtown or Paperville, both of which had growing economies based on the paper industry.

Like Woodington, Riverton also lost population between 1900 and 1920 because of a decline in the lumber industry. The large lumber mill in Bloomington had burned down before 1900 and was not rebuilt. The creation of the National Forest in 1911 restricted lumbering operations in the North Country. By 1915, most of the spruce and white pine of saw log quality in the Indian River and Little Stream areas had been cut; the last Long River log drive was held in that year. Technological developments also partly caused the end of some of the other wood products-related industries. The development of the cardboard bobbin ended the wooden bobbin industry in the area; the development of cloth and paper bags brought about the close of a large stave and heading mill in North Riverton.

The railroads also changed the character of agriculture in the area. They provided the farmer with a means of quickly transporting his products to the urban markets of southern New England. Potatoes were grown in abundance in the North Country around 1890. In addition to being exported, they were also used locally to make starch in mills which were located in Riverton and Papertown. Wool was also produced extensively in the area and was shipped to the woolen mills for which New England was noted. Production peaked in 1880 and declined precipitously thereafter. A third agricultural commodity for which the area was known was milk and milk products, some of which were shipped to markets outside the area. At one time, North Riverton had a large creamery which processed local milk and, along with cream and butter, marketed it in places like Boston. Dairying in the area reached its peak about 1925.

The decline of agriculture in the North Country was not as sudden as the decline of the lumbering and small wood products industries. The number of farms peaked about 1880 and declined slowly until 1940. During this period of decline, many of the smaller and less productive farms were eliminated, and the average size of farms increased by about 135 acres to about 167 acres.

One reason for the slow decline in the number of farms between 1880 and 1940 was the fact that the logging and paper industries offered seasonal work for farmers. Many farmers supplemented their incomes by working in the woods during the winter, when farming activities were at their low point. In addition, some of the farmers cut wood on their farms and sold it to the lumber and paper companies.

Since 1940, farming has declined sharply in the North Country so that there are now fewer than a handful of full-time farmers in the towns of North Country School Union. The decline is a result of the increased efficiency of farming methods which have increased the productivity of the individual farmer at a greater rate than the demand created by population growth and increased per capita income.

Thus, between 1840 and 1920 a vigorous logging and wood products industry rose and declined in the North Country; during that same time agriculture also peaked and began a slow decline. The paper industry replaced the logging, wood products, and agriculture industries in the communities of North Country Union and in the North Country in general.

Because of the rise of paper manufacturing, Papertown did not suffer the same reverses in population as did Woodington and Riverton. In 1891 the Dello Manufacturing Company constructed a paper mill in Paperville. The company also built a number of houses for their employees in the village. By 1910 another paper mill, the Montana Valley Paper Company, had been built in the village of Papertown. The existence of the two paper mills provided the impetus for Papertown's continued growth until 1940, while the other towns in the union were declining in population.

Riverton, like Woodington, has never really recovered it prosperity of the logging days. During the Depression, a federal conservation camp across the river in Bloomington provided jobs for local people. Later, the stave and heading mill was purchased by the Greene Paper Company, and plywood manufacturing began in Riverton. This brought new life to the town and provided jobs for several hundred people. The managers and foremen of the mill created a middle class in the village of North Riverton. However, plywood manufacturing was never as lucrative as paper manufacturing, so Riverton never achieved the prosperity that Paperville enjoyed. The plywood mill in North Riverton closed several times between 1940 and 1970. With its final closing in 1970, Riverton lost its major source of employment, and the foremen and managers left the town.

During these years of economic change, changes also occurred in the social structure of the towns. Prior to the advent of large-scale manufacturing (paper and plywood), prosperous farmers and merchants had formed the elite of the towns. They were elected to town offices and exercised key leadership roles. When large-scale manufacturing came, a new group, mill managers and foremen, emerged. This group, often better educated than local merchants and farmers, has come to exert considerable influence in the towns, especially in Paperville and Riverton. Although its members have frequently been chosen to serve on school boards and various town commissions, they have not sought elected political positions such as selectman. However, the opinion of mill management on town issues is often sought, and it weighs heavily on town decisions.

Another change which occurred in the social structure was the assimilation of the immigrants into the area, which appears to have gone fairly smoothly. Irish and French Catholic influence can be seen mainly in religious institutions: each of the three towns supports a Catholic Church and a number of parochial schools, manned by French Canadian orders, were also started in the area. Other than priests with French surnames and French names on mail boxes, there is little indication of French culture in North Country School Union. Although assimilation has been nearly total for the French Canadians in the towns of Papertown, Woodington, and Riverton, it has been a long time coming. People of French Canadian ancestry began appearing as selected officials only in the 1950's.

The political systems of the towns have changed little since their inception. Woodington and Riverton have elected selectmen and the town meeting form of government. Elections are nonpartisan. Every spring each town holds a Town Meeting to consider general town business and a School Meeting to consider business specific to the operation of its schools. Papertown altered its political system in the early 1950's when it changed from a selectman-town meeting form of government to a town manager-selectman-town meeting form of government. Under this form of government, the town manager became the executive officer of the board of selectmen and was responsible to them. Another political change was that Paperville became a precinct of the town of Papertown, allowing levy of additional assessments. Because of the location of Paperville Papers Company and the high population density of the village, Paperville needed additional funds to pay for its expanded fire, police, and street maintenance services. Other than these minor differences, the political systems of the towns have not changed very much since they were incorporated.

THE COMMUNITIES IN THE 1970's

Basic Demography

According to the 1970 United States Census, the population of Paperville was 2,493, the population of Woodington was 343, and the population of Riverton was 980. The population of the three towns was greatest in 1940 and has decreased since then. This downward trend in population is not peculiar to the three towns of North Country Union; the overall population of North County has also declined since 1940. In fact, North County was the only county in New England State to register a decrease in population between 1960 and 1970.

The age and sex distributions of the communities in 1970 are presented in Table 1. Several points stand out in this table. First, the communities are remarkably similar to each other in their demographic characteristics. The proportions of the population under age 20, between ages 20 and 40, and over age 40 are almost exactly the same in each of the towns.

Table 1

AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTIONS FOR PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON AND RIVERTON IN 1970

Age Group	PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON*		RIVERTON	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
5 or under	8%	8%	10%	12%
6-14	23%	22%	19%	14%
15-19	8%	9%	12%	13%
20-29	9%	10%	17%	11%
30-39	10%	11%	3%	8%
40 or Older	42%	41%	39%	42%
	(N=1290)	(N=1496)	(N=496)	(N=441)

* The data presented in Tables 1 through 5 are taken from the 1970 U.S. Census of Population which combines the results for Woodington and Papertown.

Second, examination of the proportions of young people, young adults, and older adults suggests that the decrease in population is due to young adults leaving the communities. Approximately 40 percent of the population of the towns is under age 20, and 40 percent of the population is age 40 or older, but only about 20 percent of the population is between ages 20 and 40. This emigration is, of course, a phenomenon that is common to small, rural areas.

Third, the fact that the group of young adults is smaller than either of the other two age groups in the population also suggests that large families may be common in the area. The proportion of the population that is in the so-called child-bearing years (ages 20-39) is only about 20 percent, while the proportion of young people and children is about double that--40 percent. Casual observation and an examination of high school year books also support this contention.

While there are great similarities between the communities, as indicated in Table 1, there are also several differences that are worth noting. One difference is that Riverton has fewer males in the 30-39 age group than do Papertown and Woodington, suggesting that more males of this age group have left Riverton than have left Papertown-Woodington. The economic situation in Riverton, which has been aggravated by the folding of the plywood mill in North Riverton, may be responsible for this. This difference is also reflected in the welfare expenditures of the various towns where Riverton leads the other two towns by a great deal. A second difference between the towns is that Papertown-Woodington have slightly more older people than Riverton. A third difference between the towns is that Riverton has a slight predominance of men (53%), while Papertown-Woodington have a slight predominance of women (54%).

Most of the inhabitants of the three towns were born either in the towns themselves or elsewhere in New England State. Only 5 percent of the residents of Riverton were foreign born and only about 8 percent of the residents of Papertown and Woodington were foreign born. While almost all of the foreign born in all three towns come from Canada, 9 percent of the foreign born in Papertown and Woodington come from Finland.

Of those residents who were born in the United States, a sizeable proportion have foreign-born parents. About 37 percent of the residents of Riverton were born of foreign parents. The great bulk of these people come from Canada. At least 78 percent of the foreign-born parents in Papertown and Woodington are from Canada, and at least 82 percent of the foreign-born parents in Riverton are from Canada. The others, at least in Papertown and Woodington, appear to have come from either Great Britain or Ireland. This is also the case in the county as a whole. Most of the inhabitants of North County whose parents were not native to the United States, came from Canada, Ireland, or England.

Most of the inhabitants of the towns of North Country Union were born in New England State. In Papertown-Woodington, 77 percent of the inhabitants were born in New England State; in Stratford, 73 percent of the inhabitants were born somewhere in the northeastern part of the United States; 21 percent of the people in Papertown-Woodington and 18 percent of the residents of Riverton were born in the Northeast. Only 8 percent of the people in Riverton and 2 percent of the people in Papertown-Woodington were born outside of New England State or the Northeast.

There are three sizeable religious-ethnic groups in the three towns. These are the Scotch-Irish group, who are descendants of the original settlers and immigrants from neighboring states or Canada; the Irish Catholics (numerically not very large), who came when railroads were built in the area; and the French Canadians, also Catholic, who came to the area around the turn of the century to work in the mills and farms.

The French Canadians are the only sizeable immigrant group to enter the area who did not originally speak English. The breakdown according to mother tongue and nativity for the towns of North Country Union is presented in Table 2.

As can be seen, most of the native born have English for a mother tongue. However, a sizeable minority, about 20 percent, of the native born of Papertown and Woodington have French for their mother tongue. All of the foreign born in Riverton and about two-thirds of the foreign born in Papertown and Woodington have French as their native tongue.

Table 2

MOTHER TONGUE BY NATIVITY FOR PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON AND RIVERTON IN 1970

Mother Tongue	PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON		RIVERTON	
	Native Born	Foreign Born	Native Born	Foreign Born
English	70%	26%	96%	-
French	19%	66%	4%	100%
All Other	-	8%	-	-
Not Reported	11%	-	-	-
	(N=2553)	(N=207)	(N=881)	(N=49)

While there is a sizeable minority in the area that has French as a native tongue, it is seldom heard in public places, and the schools do not provide a bilingual education. Rather, French seems to be a language of the home.

Community Services

Paperville is the only populated area in the three towns that has a resident doctor and dentist. Both Paperville and Riverton have town nurses, but Woodington does not. Residents of all three towns use the hospital in Princeton. Residents of the village of North Riverton also go to Brookville to the Upper Long River Valley Hospital which opened in 1972. Because the doctors in these hospitals are usually general practitioners, care tends to be limited to childbirth and the less serious illnesses. Patients who are seriously ill are sent to a general hospital affiliated with a medical hospital, about an hour and one-half drive from Paperville.

There are no post-secondary schools located near the towns of North Country Union. The State University of New England State School of Continuing Studies, does, however, offer undergraduate and graduate courses to residents of the area. The location of the course is often determined by the location of the teacher. As a result, many of the courses are held in Frenchtown and Littleville, both some distance from North Country Union, though some courses have been held in Paperville and Princeton. Courses meet in the evenings, usually in a school building. Three types of courses are offered. One type of course is designed to interest the layman, for example, "Law for the Layman." Another type of course is a standard undergraduate course like "Introduction to Sociology." The third type of course is a graduate course for teachers.

Both Riverton and Papertown support several religious denominations. The two largest denominations in Papertown are Methodist and Catholic, both of which have resident clergy and large physical plants. Although Woodington has the Methodist Union Church, it has no clergy and is served by the minister from Paperville. Catholics in Woodington used to be served by a "mission" located in Wells, but this was abandoned in 1969 and torn down in 1971. Now Catholics in Woodington go to Paperville for religious services. There are also a number of smaller Protestant groups in the area, but residents of North Country Union who belong to these other churches attend Protestant churches which are located outside the three towns.

All of the churches have men's, women's, and children's groups affiliated with them. In addition, the Grange, which is very active in Woodington, is found in all three towns. The Moose Club, the Banrubeen Club (a women's club), and the Snow Machine Club are all very active in Paperville. The Paperville Fish and Game Club is also quite large and attracts members from all the neighboring towns. Both Paperville and Riverton have active veterans' organizations.

There are no local radio or TV stations in the towns of North Country Union. The nearest radio station is in Frenchtown, and reception in the towns is poor. Thus, radio is not an effective vehicle for communication. The village of Paperville is on a cable TV system that brings in seven different stations (including several French-language stations from Canada).

Although no newspapers are printed in any of the towns in North Country Union, a daily paper is published in Nottingham, about 35 miles west of Paperville. It covers national news as well as local events. Because the towns of Papertown, Woodington, and Riverton must compete with the other towns in the area, they do not receive extensive coverage in the paper.

A number of weekly papers also serve the towns. These include the North County Democrat, published in Princeton; and the Brookville News and Sentinel, published in Brookville. The North County Democrat is the most widely-read newspaper, and provides the most thorough coverage of the three towns. The News and Sentinel is widely read in the village of North Riverton.

New England State's only state-wide paper is widely read by inhabitants of the area. The state edition provides coverage of national, state, and, occasionally, local news. Papers from Boston are also sold in the towns of North Country Union. In the summer, New York papers are also available in Paperville. With the exception of the one New York and one Boston paper, the editorial pages of the other newspapers range from conservative to consistently reactionary.

Although all of the towns of North Country Union have public libraries, those in Woodington and Riverton are very small and are only open several hours a week. Paperville has a new, much larger library which is used frequently during the 20 hours a week it is open.

Most of the recreational activities in the towns of North Country Union take place out of doors. The heavy annual snowfall and miles of paper company land with logging roads makes the area ideal for snowmobile trips. Skiing is not very popular with residents of the three towns, even though there is a small slope and ski club in Princeton and many of the popular New England ski areas are within an hour's drive of Paperville. Additional winter activities include hunting and ice fishing. In the summer, fishing and canoeing are popular activities. Summer recreation programs in the area include swimming at the town pool and age-graded baseball, men's softball, Little League, stock car racing, and the Princeton Fair, which is well attended by local people. Fall is hunting season.

Although there are no movie theaters or bowling alleys in any of the towns of North Country Union, there is a bowling alley in Princeton which a number of people from Papertown use. Bingo, held at the local legion hall and St. John's Hall in Paperville, is another form of recreation in which large numbers of people participate.

All of the houses in North Country Union are privately owned except one, which is owned by the Paperville School District and rented to the high school principal or to the superintendent. At one time, about 45 houses in Paperville were owned by Paperville Papers Company, but most of them were sold about 20 years ago; the last company house was recently sold. There are a substantial number of multiple-family dwellings in Paperville and

North Riverton. Except in Riverton, the total number of housing units has decreased in the towns of North Country Union since 1960. Riverton's increase in the number of housing units is due to a small housing development in North Riverton and an increase in the number of trailers.

Economic Situation

In 1970, of the 1,097 people 16 years and older in the labor force in Papertown and Woodington, 61 percent were men and 39 percent were women. Of the 358 people in the labor force in Riverton, 77 percent were men. The lower percentage of women in the labor force in Riverton may be due to the lack of employment opportunity there. The paper mill in Paperville, on the other hand, provides work for the women who live in Papertown and Woodington.

The majority of people in the three towns have not completed high school (Table 3). The women are slightly better educated than the men. A sizeable minority--about one-third--of the people over age 25 have completed high school in each of the towns, while only a very small percentage, 10 percent or less, have had any college training.

Table 3

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED FOR MEN AND WOMEN 25 YEARS OR OLDER IN PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON AND RIVERTON IN 1970

Years of School Completed	PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON		RIVERTON	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-8	43%	28%	40%	32%
9-11	20%	31%	20%	28%
12	30%	33%	32%	32%
13 or More	6%	8%	8%	10%
	(N=742)	(N=871)	(N=256)	(N=235)

Given the low levels of education, it is not surprising to find that virtually all of the men in Riverton (97%) and most of those in Papertown-Woodington (about 90%) are employed in blue collar jobs (Table 4). Almost two-thirds of the women from Papertown and Woodington and half from Riverton also work in blue collar jobs. Of the small percentage of people holding white collar jobs, only six people in all three towns are employed as professionals, such as doctors or engineers, and these people are all from Papertown and Woodington.

Table 4

PERCENT OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON AND RIVERTON HAVING WHITE OR BLUE COLLAR JOBS IN 1970

Job Level	PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON		RIVERTON	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
White Collar[a]	11%	32%	3%	50%
Blue Collar[b]	89%	68%	97%	50%
	(N=666)	(N=402)	(N=268)	(N=73)

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[a] Includes the following census categories: professional, technical, medical and other health workers, teachers, managers and administrators, salaried workers, self-employed, sales workers, clerical workers, secretaries.

[b] Includes such categories as craftsmen, foremen, mechanics, operatives, service workers, laborers, freight and stock handlers, farm laborers, etc.

In 1972 Papertown had the most diversified and prosperous employment picture of the three communities. Paperville Papers Company, one of the major employers in the entire county, employed about 1,000 people, and was reputed to produce about 600 tons of paper a day. In addition to having the paper mill, Paperville had a Rexall Drug store, a bank, two restaurants, a small hotel, a modern grocery store, a large hardware-lumber-sporting goods store, a furniture store, an insurance agency, five service stations, and a small birch mill. All of the enterprises in Paperville were essentially family businesses, though several--the hardware store, the drug store, and the paper mill--were affiliated with national chains or corporations. A new shopping center, backed by some local contractors, had just been built in the village of Papertown. It included a large grocery store, a state liquor store, a discount drug store, and a large discount store. All (with the exception of the liquor store) were affiliated with national chains. Before the shopping center opened, people did 90 percent of their shopping outside the towns of North Country Union; after it opened, people did most of their shopping there.

In contrast to Papertown, Woodington had no commercial establishments except a small "country store" and a commercial campground. Riverton had three small family grocery stores, two service stations, and a sawmill located in North Riverton which produced more than 5,000 board feet of lumber per day.

Unemployment is not a problem in Papertown and Woodington, especially for men. In 1970, there were no unemployed men in the 16-64 age group who were not handicapped or disabled. About half of the women in the same category from these towns were not employed in 1970, but this may be due as much to preference as to the inability to find work. The picture in Riverton in 1970 was not as bright, however; 20 percent of the men there were unemployed.

The three towns of North Country Union differ substantially in the economic well being of their inhabitants (Table 5). Most of the families in North Country Union have incomes of less than $10,000, and only about 7 percent of the families in any of the towns have incomes of more than $15,000.

Table 5

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY INCOME FOR
PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON, AND RIVERTON IN 1970

Income	PAPERTOWN-WOODINGTON	RIVERTON
Less than $5,000	19%	29%
$5,000 to $9,999	41%	43%
$10,000 or More	40%	27%
	(N=666)	(N=244)

The differences between the towns become more apparent when data on welfare are presented. Only 7 percent of the families in Papertown and Woodington have incomes below the poverty level, while the corresponding figure is 21 percent for Riverton. The amount of welfare per capita for the three towns in 1970 shows the same relationship. Riverton led the state in per capita welfare expended in 1970. Some interesting differences in the way in which welfare is allocated in the three towns are shown in Table 6. The sizeable percentage devoted to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (ADC) indicates that family maintenance is the greatest problem in Riverton.

Table 6

DISTRIBUTION OF WELFARE EXPENDITURES FOR
PAPERTOWN, WOODINGTON, AND RIVERTON IN 1970

Welfare Category	PAPERTOWN	WOODINGTON	RIVERTON
Old Age Assistance	36%	12%	4%
Aid to the Partially and totally Disabled, Aid to the Needy Blind	13%	18%	8%
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	43%	46%	87%
Direct Relief	3%	24%	1%

These data indicate that all three towns have economically impoverished groups, though Papertown and Woodington have proportionately fewer than Riverton. Papertown and Woodington have more poor elderly people, while Riverton has more poor families with children. Poor people seem to be evenly distributed between the various ethnic groups.

Two external factors have potential influence over the economic life of the communities. One factor is federal and state environmental protection standards which are likely to affect expansion of the Paperville Papers Company because paper technology is quite dirty at the present. The Paperville mill is one of the largest polluters in the Upper Long River Valley. Plans have been made to install water pollution equipment on the paper machines in the mill but, according to the president of the mill, until there is an increase in the effectiveness of current pollution control devices, the mill will not be able to expand its output and also meet pollution control standards at the same time. The pollution standards may also reduce the number of industries that could locate in the abandoned mills in Riverton.

A second factor is that both the Maine Central and the Boston and Maine railroads are experiencing financial problems. Abandonment of the line into Paperville and Riverton would cause a major problem for Paperville Company because it relies heavily on the railroads for transportation of oil, chemicals, and unfinished paper. Loss of rail access would also seriously hamper any rejuvenation of Riverton.

A third (internal) factor is corporate expansion policy. North Country has ample supplies of hard and softwood, especially for paper production and wood products production (plywood and veneer, etc.) to meet growing demand, and the current harvest of wood of all types is only about half of the annual growth in the county. However, pollution standards, the uncertainty about the future of rail transportation in the area, the larger capital outlays required (especially in the paper industry, where a single paper machine costs millions of dollars), and the projected slow increase in demand for paper and paper products may discourage expansion in this area.

Of course, any expansion or introduction of new industry into the area will have to rely on local labor. The fact that the labor is largely unskilled and uneducated limits the types of industries in the area. The local employee, however, will work for smaller wages than his counterpart in the southern part of New England State or the rest of New England, which may attract more industries like the small shoe stitching plants which have recently located in Princeton and Brookville.

None of the communities has any groups actively seeking industry for the area. Paperville had a Chamber of Commerce, but it went out of existence in 1970. The key individual who influences the development of the area is the president of the local mill in Paperville. Whether the existing plant expands or whether components of the local operation are moved to other mills is largely up to him and other corporate decision makers.

In addition to the president of the mill, Paperville has a small group of individuals who backed the shopping center in Papertown although gaining town approval for this was not easy. They are also planning a sizeable and attractive trailer park near the shopping center. This may stimulate a need for the development of more commercial services.

The long-range economic outlook for the area is not encouraging. Population will probably continue to decrease. The small family business, unless affiliated with a national chain, will either die out or just eke along; such has been the case with some of the stores in the area since the large discount store came to Papertown. Industrial development will probably involve an existing facility or resource rather than a new industry, and is likely to be small in size because of the small number of people in the area. People in Woodington and Riverton recognize that times have been better and that things may not improve greatly in the future. However, attachments to family homes and farms and to relatives in the area keep many from leaving. Although people are concerned about the loss of young people, they hope that the continued existence of the mill will insure a job and a place in the community for their children, even though it may mean that a neighbor's children will have to leave the community and work elsewhere.

Political Structure

Woodington and Riverton are each governed by three selectmen who are elected on non-partisan ballots. Papertown has a town manager-selectman form of government with partisan elections. In addition, the village of Paperville is taxed as a precinct of the town of Papertown, so there is a precinct commission which oversees precinct expenditures.

The town budgets and appropriations are approved at town meeting which occurs in the spring of each year. Various town officers are also elected then and the articles on the town warrant are voted upon. The turnout of voters at the town meetings is heavy and the meetings can be long and sometimes boisterous. Each town has a moderator who is supposed to ensure that the meetings are orderly, but there appears to be a great deal of variation in the skill of the moderators of the various towns. Papertown has a very skillful and powerful moderator. The other towns are not so fortunate, and discussion often wanders from the topic at hand, several motions are entertained simultanesouly, and confusion reigns.

Town officers, especially selectmen, tend to be local businessmen because they are likely to have the time to spare that such a job requires. Except for the position of town manager in Papertown, which pays $11,000 per year, payment for officers is minimal, not more than $600 per year. The absence of scandals and acrimony at election time emphasizes the fact that political office holders function adequately and competently in their jobs.

The tax rates for the towns vary greatly, as might be expected given the variety of commercial property in the towns. In 1973, the tax rate for Papertown was $5.30 per hundred dollars of assessed valuation for property outside the precinct of Paperville and $5.60 per hundred dollars of assessed valuation inside the precint of Paperville. This was the total local tax and included the school and county assessments as well. In Paperville, property was assessed at 60% of its true value. The rate in Riverton was $4.78 per hundred dollars of assessed valuation. Property in Riverton was assessed at 56% of its value. In Woodington, the tax rate was $7.50 per hundred dollars of assessed value and property was assessed at 35% of its true value.

All towns have police forces and fire departments. Papertown has the largest police department and provides 24-hour protection. Riverton and Woodington have only one policeman. All three towns have volunteer fire departments. In Riverton, a volunteer fire department was started in the Hollow in 1972.

All three towns have town dumps. Papertown has a trash pickup service, but Riverton and Woodington do not. It is expected that environmental legislation will make the towns abandon the practice of burning and adopt a sanitary landfill system. The town of Papertown has sewage treatment facilities. Since neither Woodington nor Riverton has treatment facilities, most of their sewage is dumped into local brooks and rivers. The villages of North Riverton, and Paperville have public water supplies whose sources are mountain reservoirs. Homes outside these villages and all homes in Woodington obtain water from springs or wells.

Each town contributes part of its tax money to the county for county services. In 1972, Papertown contributed about $55,000, Woodington contributed about $5,400 and Riverton contributed about $18,000. County services include a county farm, a hospital, a nursing home, and a jail located in West Willardston. There is also a county prosecutor and a county superior court which handles felonies and civil cases. The court holds two sessions, one in Princeton, the county seat, and the other in Frenchtown, the largest city in nearby Crooks County. The welfare funds (called Direct Relief) which are administered by the county are quite small compared to the federal and state welfare funds.

The state also provides several services for the towns, including care and maintenance of state roads, police protection, and job placement and employment counseling. The employment security center for Woodington, Riverton, and Papertown is located in Paperville and is staffed by a counselor once a week. The state also contributes substantial revenues to the local governments. These funds comprise between 20% and 50% of the total town budgets. In 1972, about a fifth of Woodington's town budget came from state funds, about a third of Papertown's town budget came from state funds, and close to half of Riverton's town budget came from state funds.

Values

People in North Country Union have a strong sense of locale and place. They like living in the North Country, even though its winters are long and hard. They praise the virtues of the unhurried pace of life in the towns, the clean air, the lack of congestion, traffic and crime, and the beauties of the countryside. People enjoy activities which take place out of doors, especially hunting and fishing. They value the fact that they live close to their relatives in a place where everybody knows everyone else. Their strong sense of community makes them hostile to outsiders.

Another value is sobriety and reserve in personal conduct. Residents feel that people should not force themselves on others and should conduct themselves with dignity and reserve in public. This was not always the case, especially during the heyday of logging. Attempts at reform were made by temperance groups. There is little indication that they had any great success, but such behavior occurs less now than in the past.

Religion and patriotism are also important to the community. Veterans' organizations are active and patriotic holidays are remembered with parades. Church services are well attended and church groups are important clubs in the towns.

Active religious and political community organizations and a strong identification with the community create rivalries. Riverton and Papertown schools are keen athletic rivals. Papertown also has a strong rivalry with the neighboring town of Princeton. Part of this rivalry has to do with the fact that a number of mill managers, teachers. and principals live in Princeton rather than in Papertown, which some people see as a snub to Papertown and Paperville. There seems to be truth to this feeling. On occasion, people in Princeton have been heard disparaging Paperville as a mill town. Thus, despite its rural and somewhat impoverished character, North Country is marked by self-perceived class distinctions.

SECTION II:

THE SCHOOLS OF NORTH COUNTRY SUPERVISORY UNION

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CHAPTER THREE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH COUNTRY SCHOOL UNION IN THE 20th CENTURY

The 20th century saw formal education in North Country transformed from small, rural, communally organized schools to a larger, bureaucratically organized school system. School budgets were increased and the number of teachers and students tripled, while the schools were consolidated from 11 to 4. The period was marked by increasing state regulations and federal aid to education, resulting in a proliferation of courses offered and required for graduation.

The changes occurred largely in three phases, the first occurring from 1900 to 1930, which saw initial changes in county-wide school organization. The second period coincided with the Great Depression and World War II, both of which necessitated the elimination of some special school programs. The educational pace quickened during the third phase, largely due to the increasing involvement of the federal government in local public education.

1900 TO 1930: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOOLS

Between 1900 and 1930, the schools and school districts in North Country Union underwent a basic transformation in which the educational pattern of the 20th century was established. At the turn of the century, the schools in areas such as North Country Union were the remnants of a rural past. Schools were small--the one-room rural school was the norm--and scattered throughout the towns. Because transportation was difficult, with good roads and school buses not yet in existence, schools were located wherever there were enough children to warrant building one, or wherever parents organized and pressured local school boards into building a school. As a result, schools were also numerous. For instance, in 1895 Papertown had 12 schools; Riverton had 10 in 1899; and Woodington had 7 in 1900. Schooling also had an irregular cast to it. In 1895 the number of weeks the various schools were in session during the year varied from 24 to 30, both because of weather and because children often participated in harvesting crops in the fall and in sugaring in the spring.[1] In the villages such as Paperville, teachers might be graduates of normal schools or even liberal arts colleges; in the remote areas of the towns the teachers often lacked any formal educational training. It was common practice for the teacher to board with families in the area served by her school, and this practice continued until the

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rural schools were phased out and use of the automobile became widespread. Full-time principals did not exist; neither did superintendents nor supervisory unions. (Selected characteristics of the schools in North Country Union around 1900 are presented in Table 7.)

Table 7

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF NORTH COUNTRY UNION'S SCHOOLS AROUND 1900

Year	Town	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	No. of Students	Budget
1895	Papertown	11	12	260	$2,473.72
1899	Riverton	10	16	244	$3,358.68
1900	Woodington	7	8	NA	$1,260.11

NA: Not available

By 1930, this pattern had changed dramatically. In the place of decentralized, communally organized, locally variable school systems was substituted the uniformity of a bureaucratized system. The impetus for change came not from within the schools or town of North Country Union, but from the state, in particular from the State Department of Education, and was part of the nation-wide "organizational revolution" in education that was occurring at this time.

In North County Union, this transformation took a number of forms. One was a substantial reduction between 1900 and 1930 in the number of schools. During this period the total number of schools decreased from 27 to 12. By 1930 Papertown had only 3 schools, Riverton had only 4, one of which closed in 1931, and Woodington had 5. Only Woodington, the smallest and least developed of the three towns, retained the one-room school as its dominant form. Four of its schools were one-room schools, and one, the Village School, had two rooms, one for grades 1-4, the other for grades 5-8.

The decrease in the number of schools was brought about by a change in the basic organization of schooling and was a critical manifestation of this change. Though the number of schools decreased by more than one half, the number of students increased substantially between 1900 and 1930, from over 600 to more than 900 students. This increase in students, however, was not correlated with a proportionate increase in the number of teachers. During the same period, teachers increased by about 11 percent, from 36 to 40.

The change in schooling involved a movement towards large multi-room schools in which the basic and ideal educational unit was the homogeneously graded, self-contained classroom.[2] At the elementary level, this meant that students of approximately the same age were taught all their subjects by one teacher in one room. At the high school level, the pattern changed slightly. Age-grouped students moved in blocks from teacher to teacher, each of whom taught them a different subject.

Underlying these changes were two prime principles of bureaucracies: specialization and efficiency. The organization of instruction at the elementary and secondary levels manifests the principle of specialization. In the elementary school, specialization occurs by grade level, and teachers are identified by, and hired according to, the specific subject areas they are competent to teach. In both instances, this specialization is built into the acutal training of teachers. According to educational theory, this type of specialization is more effective than the system it supplanted, and this type of specialization necessitated the large multi-room school.

Having large schools was also more efficient than having many small, one-room schools because it required fewer teachers. Even though central schools increased transportation costs, this increase was made up by the decrease in the number of teachers required, since teachers' salaries are the single greatest expense of school districts. As noted above, though the number of students in the schools of North Country Union increased by close to 50 percent between 1900 and 1930, the number of teachers only increased 11 percent during the same period.

Two other factors, not integrally associated with bureaucratization, also faciliatated the transformation of the schools. One was the fact that both Riverton and Woodington lost population between 1900 and 1920 as the logging industry declined in northern New England states. As the population declined, the need for some of the rural schools disappeared.

Another factor facilitating the transformation was the advent of the heated school bus and year-round maintenance of the roads. These allowed children to be transported in comfort from remote areas of the towns to schools located in the heavily populated villages. Prior to the advent of heated, motorized transportation, students were occasionally transported to schools by sled or carriage, both of which ruled out long trips for them, especially in cold winter months. The importance of good roads and heated buses can be seen in the Superintendent's statement in the 1932 Riverton School Report:

> About $400 could be saved by transporting the East Riverton pupils to the Riverton Hollow building. Now that we have a road which is ploughed all winter the pupils could be transported in a heated bus without any hardship or discomfort.

It was during this period that all of the school buildings currently in use in North Country Union were built. They, of course, reflected the transformation that was occurring. Three, Paperville Elementary School (built in 1908,) Paperville High School (built in 1906 and expanded in 1925,) and Riverton School (built in 1906) were all large, brick, multi-story, multi-room buildings designed to accomodate the basic pattern that was being laid down. The other two, Woodington School (built in 1900) and Riverton Hollow School (built in 1913) were wooden two-room schools which represented partial and realistic accomodations, given the limited student population in the areas they were built to serve. Each of these had a primary room for grades 1-4 and a grammar room for grades 5-8.

Though the main push to eliminate rural schools came in the early part of this century,the process of phasing them out in North Country Union has continued up to 1970. Papertown closed its last rural school in 1938. This school was located in the most remote part of town, and good roads and motorized transporation led to its closing. Woodington closed three of its five schools between 1930 and 1945. A one-room school remained in the village of Homer until 1964, however. Riverton closed one of its small schools in 1931. The other, a two-room school located in Riverton Hollow, was not closed until 1970.

Closing the latter two schools was not easy and illustrates the importance people in the area place on having their own neighborhood school. The school boards in Woodington and Riverton discussed closing their small schools over a number of years. Each time this was discussed, however, strong opposition to the closing arose immediately and was communicated to the superintendent and to the particular school boards. Several times both the Riverton and Woodington School Boards put the issue of closing their small schools before the voters at School Meeting, but the voters decided to keep the schools open.

The ability of the residents of Homer and Riverton Hollow to keep their schools open in the face of attempts to close them rests on several related factors. Both Homer and the Hollow are population centers in their respective towns. Homer is one of three small centers in Woodington; the Hollow is the original settlement in Riverton and one of two major populated areas in the town of Riverton.

Furthermore, both tend to be isolated from the rest of their towns. Riverton Hollow is nine miles from North Riverton, the commerical center of the town, and five miles from Paperville, and people from the Hollow tend to work and trade in Paperville, not in North Riverton. Homer is located on the eastern edge of the town of Woodington, and people there tend to have ties with the neighboring towns of Venice and Frenchtown, not with Paperville, which is the main focus for people from the settlements of Wells and Woodington. Communication between Homer and the other areas of Woodington is also hindered by the fact that it has its own post office and is not in the same telephone exchange as the rest of Woodington (which means a toll call from Homer to Wells or Woodington.)

Because Riverton Hollow and Homer were isolated population centers of their towns, they had distinct social identities, both to people who resided in them and to those who resided in other parts of the town. This in turn enabled them to mobilize easily and effectively when attempts were made to remove schools serving children and families from each of these areas. In essence, this meant that a major, identifiable section of the town was opposing the school boards in these towns and the result was that, for an extended period of time, Homer and the Hollow managed to prevent the removal of a major institution, the small school. Finally, however,weight of the added financial burden each school imposed (and, in the case of Woodington, the transfer of grades 7 and 8 from Woodington School to Paperville High School, which reduced the total number of students in Woodington's schools,) led to the closing of these schools.

Another change that occurred between 1900 and 1930 was the creation of North Country Supervisory Union and the introduction of the superintendency. The state began pressuring school districts to join supervisory unions and to hire superintendents at the beginning of this century. The towns resisted this initially because it increased costs, took discretionary power away from them, and did not promise off-setting educational benefits. The Papertown School Board wrote in the 1905 Town Report:

> At the school meeting of 1904 it was voted to hire a superintendent but none could be hired at the price we could pay. We would not hesitate to recommend any and all measures that would tend to a practical benefit to the system of education obtained at a reasonable expense. However, as the condition appears at the present time, we are confident that an equal, and perhaps less amount of money than would be required to sustain a supervisory district be applied to the improvement and addition of such things needed in our own high school, free and accessible to all our children, would result in more benefit to the largest numbers.

However, resistance was futile. In 1909 Riverton became part of a supervisory district which linked it with the towns to the north. In 1919, the State Department of Education, under authority just granted it by the legislature, organized New England State into supervisory unions. Thus North Country Union was created at this time by an action of the state, and it then had its first superintendent. Initially North Country Union encompassed the towns of Riverton, Papertown, Woodington, Enfield, Caroline, and Beatty's Location. The latter two towns were unincorporated and very sparsely populated. The superintendent was responsible for ensuring that any children who might live in these two towns would receive a formal education. Later, in the mid-1960's, the state removed Enfield, Caroline, and Beatty's Location from North Country Union.

During this period, the state also created minimum standards for teachers: teachers had to be certified to teach. With the advent of certification procedures, many teachers in small towns like those of North Country Union had to attend special training institutes to receive certification. To encourage this, the towns paid teachers special bonuses of between $40 and $60 for receiving certification. The result was that by the 1920's, most of the teachers were graduates of normal schools or colleges and all had received post-high school training. For instance, in Riverton in 1923, of its 13 teachers, 4 were college graduates, 7 were normal school graduates, and 2 were high school graduates who had attended summer teaching institutes.

Yearly health examinations by a school nurse and standardized testing were institutionalized in the schools of North Country Union in the 1920's. Testing first began in Papertown and was used to group students according to ability levels. The superintendent wrote in the 1924 School Report:

> Tests have been given in all grades and divisions arranged so that, as far as possible, those capable of working rapidly are put into divisions which are expected to do the maximum amount for that grade.

By 1930 testing had also been introduced in Riverton. The superintendent wrote in the 1930 School Report:

> This year we are trying out a more extensive testing program in grades three to eight, than we have used in past years. The Columbian Tests are being used....Thus far we have given four sets of these tests. According to the standards given, the sum of the median scores of each of the six grades should be 1340. Our pupils obtained 1332.5. When we realize that the standards were obtained largely from pupils working in large city systems, our scores seem fairly satisfactory.

The State Department of Education also promulgated approved courses of study for the schools in 1917 and 1918. These probably had their greatest impact on the high schools which originally were established as "departements" of the common schools in the 1890's in Paperville and North Riverton, and offered only a classical college preparatory course. The high school,as it emerged during this period with the implementation of the prescribed course of studies, became more "comprehensive" in the sense that it tried to offer programs for a wide variety of students. This meant the inclusion of courses in home economics and "commerical" subjects as well as college preparatory work. For instance, the superintendent wrote in the 1930 Riverton School Report:

> In accordance with the action taken by the voters at the School Meeting... courses in Manual Training and Domestic Arts were introduced at the beginning of the present school year. This necessitated the purchase of about $500 worth of equipment and the employment of one more teacher.... This year we are attempting to do more with instrumental music than we have done in the past. Mr.__________ of Princeton comes to the North Riverton building one day each week and gives individual instruction in playing various instruments.

With the advent of the high school came the organized extracurriculum. Paperville High School published a yearbook as early as 1923. It listed two student clubs, a Latin Club and an English Club. Athletics were an important part of the extracurriculum of both Riverton and Paperville High Schools. Both schools had basketball, football and baseball teams for boys and basketball teams for girls. By 1930 a league had been formed in the North Country and teams from North Country Union participated in the league, often with considerable success. Paperville High School has trophies and pictures of their State champion teams from this era.

1930 TO SPUTNIK: CONSOLIDATION OF THE SYSTEM

By 1930 the schools and school systems of North Country Union had been transformed. From simple communal organizations they had become bureaucratic; they had increased in size, roles were specialized, administrators appeared on the scene, universalistic recruitment requirements had been instituted, and rules and regulations covering many aspects of schooling had come into being. The change, however, had not been internally generated. It was the result of pressure and action by the State Department of Education.

If the first thirty years of the 20th century were characterized by momentous change in North Country Union, the next 25, which spanned the Depression and the launching of Sputnik, were just the opposite; years of quietude and stability. Virtually the only change that occurred was the expansion and elaboration of the basic pattern that had been set down earlier. Although the Great Depression and the two wars--World War II and the Korean War--undoubtedly acted to retard any innovation, there is no evidence to indicate any impetus, either from within North Country Union or from outside, for educational change during this period. What change did occur during this period was generally either minor or in direct response to the Depression or the wars.

The Great Depression

The Depression put pressure on the schools to reduce their services, programs, and teachers' salaries. One result of this pressure was that the school budgets actually decreased between 1931 and 1935. Cutting teachers' salaries was a major issue in the towns where people were out of work or working reduced hours. This did not occur, however, due to the way state aid for teachers' salaries was computed. During this period, teachers were paid at least $1,000. Of this, the town contributed $800 and the State the remaining $200. Any cut in teachers' salaries of less than 20 percent ($200) would only reduce the amount of state aid; it would not affect the contribution of the local towns to the salaries. As a result, the minimum salary for teachers did not change during this period even though local people resented this and raised this issue each year at School Meeting.

The concern for reducing school expenditures took other forms as well. People in Riverton proposed the elimination of the home economics and manual arts programs. The superintendent strongly resisted this and argued that these courses were as important as other academic courses, if not more so, especially for the majority of students who were not planning to attend college and who were not likely to even complete high school. For these students, manual training and home economics were often the only vocationally oriented courses these students would ever have. He wrote in the 1933 Riverton School Report:

> Some suggestions have been made regarding the dropping of our work in Manual Training and Home Economics in North Riverton. Your superintendent believes that such action would be a decided step backward

> and should not be considered at the present time. It is his opinion that these courses are of more value than those in Latin and Mathematics.

The value of the home economics and manual arts course, however, was not limited to the skills they gave students. Students in these courses performed valuable services for the schools themselves. Manual arts students worked around the schools repairing and building equipment and, in some instances, actually making physical improvements to the schools. For example, manual arts students put the original floor in the gymnasium at Paperville High School; and, in 1939, the manual arts students built a ski jump and enclosed the skating rink in Paperville. Home economics students often "catered" various school events and socials by preparing cookies or snacks and punch for students and faculty. In addition, the home economics students in Riverton prepared soup for elementary students during the winter months.

The result of the superintendent's strong concern for home economics and manual arts, as well as for their broader functions for the schools and other students, prevented their elimination during the Depression.

Not all of the Depression's effects on the schools threatened programs or budgets. Though the various Federal programs designed to combat the Depression were generally devoted to road and forestry work in the North Country, one project benefited Paperville High School. The large study hall and several classrooms on the second floor of the High School were completed as part of a public works program. A bas relief wood carving of the covered bridge in Paperville still hangs in the study hall to commemorate this work.

It was during the Depression years that the schools of the North Country Supervisory Union received their first direct Federal Aid to Education funds. Beginning in 1934, the schools began to receive money for home economics (or Domestic Arts as it was called then) under the George-Ellezy Act. The 1934 Riverton School Report noted:

> Domestic Arts has been extended into the high school and the work has been approved under the George-Ellezy Act. That means we get quite a little Federal Aid for this department.

Later, in 1938, again under the auspices of the George-Ellezy Act, Domestic Arts were extended to include the junior and senior years in the high schools in Riverton and Paperville.

The Wars and After

World War II had an effect on the schools even more than did the Depression. Because of gasoline rationing, school sports were dropped in 1942. This eliminated baseball, basketball and football. These sports, with the exception of football (which was to be replaced by soccer,) were resumed after the war. World War II also saw the introduction of courses in first aid and physical fitness, both of which were designed to aid the war effort. Regarding physical fitness, the 1943 Riverton School Report stated:

> A strong request has been handed down through the State Board of Education for all high schools to introduce a physical fitness course for the juniors and seniors...To comply with this request, the schedule has been modified to meet the new demand. A small amount of apparatus may be needed.

Riverton School also eliminated the Home Economics and Manual Arts programs in 1943. These courses required more supplies than did other courses and thus were more expensive, and Riverton was unable to recruit any teachers to fill these positions during the war years. However, even after the war ended, these courses were not reinstated, due to the unwillingness of townspeople to appropriate the funds necessary for these programs. The failure to provide instruction in these areas subjected the school to criticism from the State Department of Education, and some of the towns which paid tuition to send their students to Riverton School indicated displeasure at the lack of instruction in these areas, even threatening to send their children elsewhere, though they did not.

After the war, hot lunch programs were established in the schools, partly encouraged by the federal government's subsidized milk program. Paperville opened a cafeteria in Paperville Elementary School in 1947 which served students from the elementary school and the high school, the latter students having to walk (usually they ran to be first in line) from the high school to the elementary school. Riverton started a hot lunch program in 1952 with the PTO serving the meals for the students. Woodington did not start serving prepared meals until 1957 when the woodshed at Woodington School was converted to a kitchen. Prior to this, teachers and people living near the school would prepare warm soup for the students during the winter months.

1947 also saw the incorporation of the seventh and eighth grades in Riverton School into the high school. This was done "in order to improve instruction and the general organization" of the school. The State Board of Education approved the change and Riverton became a six-year high school.

The Papertown schools made several changes in the 1950's. In 1954 the high school made a year of mathematics mandatory for graduation. The superintendent also tried to establish a metal working shop at the high school but the school board "passed over" this because of the expense involved. The issue was not revived in subsequent years and the high school still does not offer courses in metal working. In 1957 the seventh and eighth grades were departmentalized in the high school and a year of personal typing was required for graduation. In the same year an elementary classroom was set up in Paperville Precinct Hall because of overcrowding in the elementary school. The School Report for that year indicated that there were 11 classes at the elementary school but only 10 classrooms.

The only change during this period in Woodington was the provision by the town of transportation to Paperville High School for Woodington students. Prior to this, students were responsible for providing their own transportation to the high school. Provision of transporation reduced the number of absences among Woodington high school students, a problem that was frequently mentioned in the School Reports and minutes of the School Board meetings.

SPUTNIK TO 1970: RENEWED CHANGE

After Sputnik, the pace of educational change quickened in North Country Union, especially in Papertown. There were several reasons for the changes that occurred. One was the effect of Sputnik itself on education. It expanded the role of the federal government in education, and the government's influence increased in the 60's with the civil rights and social legislation of the Kennedy and Johnson years. Another reason was that the State Department of Education became more influential and began prescribing curriculum changes. It also fostered state-wide consolidation of school districts, primarily at the secondary level with regional high schools. And though North Country Union remained basically intact and non-regionalized during this period, the state did attempt to break up the union. A third factor was the change in composition of the Paperville School Board. The new members, a doctor and a manager at the paper mill, had children in school and were interested in seeing to it that the schools adequately prepared their children for college. This meant that they were in favor of upgrading the academic curriculum, especially in the sciences and mathematics, in Paperville High School. Finally, a new, innovative superintendent was hired in 1963. He introduced a number of curriculum changes, many of which were suggested by the state and not all of which lasted very long.

One of the first changes that occurred after 1957 was the building of additions to the schools in Paperville and Riverton. Space and overcrowding had been a problem for some time in Paperville. In 1947 the School Board created a committee to look into the problem and it recommended building a new elementary school. Between 1947 and 1956 a plan to build a new school was presented a number of times to the voters at School Meeting. In March, 1956 at the regular School Meeting the voters accepted the planning committee's plan.

This vote did not appropriate funds for the building, however. A search for a suitable location for the school was undertaken and, purportedly, the owner of the mill told members of the committee that he would donate land for the school. The school board then petitioned the State for permission to hold a special meeting to vote on an appropriation for the school. Permission was received and the meeting scheduled for June. The night before the meeting a member of the school board (who was also a manager in the papermill) was informed by the owner of the mill that the land was no longer available. The next day this person had to tell the people who showed up for the special school meeting that the plan could not be voted on because the land on which the school was to be built was no longer available.

The School Board appointed another committee to study the problem and the committee recommended building a four-room addition to the elementary school and a gymnasium/auditorium, locker rooms, and a music room at the high school. This was presented to the voters in 1958 and passed; the additions were completed a year later.

Space was a problem at Riverton School as well. It had some deficiencies in its academic program (science and shop) which the State Department of Education wanted remedied. The Board began meeting on these problems in 1956 and it approved an addition to the school comprising a new gymnasium/auditorium, a kitchen for serving hot lunches, locker rooms, a science room, a wood shop area, and a home economics room. The State Department of Edcuation tried to have the Board look into the possibility of sending students to other districts on a tuition basis. These concerns were relayed to the School Board in a meeting with its members and in the following letter:

> This letter will confirm the discussion held today with you and Mrs. ____________________ representing the Borad of Selectmen of Riverton, and ________________, ____________________ and me representing the State Department of Education.
>
> Because Riverton High School must make substantial improvements if it is to be approved under the new Minimum Standards for Secondary Schools, the School District is being asked to vote on Article 8 of the School District Warrant on an addition to the present High School. On page 58 of the 1975 Town Report, Superintendent ________________ quotes our Department as follows:
>
> "Additions to the present building might not be the best method of meeting the needs for an expanded program. At least two other alternatives should be carefully examined before a final decision is made by the Riverton School Board and Community: (1) the possibilities of a cooperative high school, or (2) arrangement with a neighboring community to receive the students on a tuition basis."
>
> There are some indications that these three alternatives have not been fully studied and explained in the light of the recent decisions at Brookville and Paperville to enlarge their high schools.
>
> Thus, it is our recommendation that the District consider delaying action on the proposed building addition at Riverton while these new possibilities are studied. This could be done by adjourning the meeting to a definite place and time (perhaps about two months from now) and appointing a study committee to investigate the situation and report to the District prior to taking final action on Article 8.
>
> Our department would be pleased to work with such a study committee during the next 2 months.

The Superintendent relayed these concerns of the state to the voters at the School Meeting with the result that the school building appropriation was defeated and a study committee was set up to look into the feasibility of tuitioning Riverton's high school students to some other school district.

The study committee looked into the possibility of tuitioning students to a neighboring district and found this to be unfeasible. In March 1959 the community overwhelmingly approved the additions to the school. The building was completed in the following year.

Several years later, space again became a problem at Riverton School. The basement had been converted to classroom space but was inadequate to handle the increased number of students. This led to the construction of two more classrooms at Riverton School in 1966. One of the classrooms became the home economics room, and the old home economics room was converted into a library.

Between 1957 and 1970 a number of curriculum changes occurred in the schools. Portable language laboratories were purchased for Riverton School and Paperville High School. The science facilities in Paperville High School were updated (Riverton had a new science room as a result of the addition in 1959-1960) and the PSSC physics curriculum was introduced in both schools. A college prepatory course in biology was also added as were a college proporatory track in English and additional history and mathematics courses. Metal working was added to the industrial arts program, only to be dropped later because of safety regulations and space problems. Guidance counsellors were hired and art instruction was added to the curriculum. A number of "work study" programs were also started in both schools. In Riverton, an office practices program was instituted at the local plywood mill. (It ended in 1970 when the mill closed.) A similar program was started in 1964 in Paperville at the paper mill. A "candy striper" program and an auto repair program were also started in Paperville but they died because of a lack of interest on the part of students. In addition, the libraries of both Riverton School and Paperville High School were expanded and a library was created at Paperville Elementary School.

A number of changes also occurred in the elementary schools in North Country Union. New curriculum materials were added. The ITA (International Teaching Alphabet) reading program was introduced in all three elementary schools in 1965. Paperville departmentalized its 5th and 6th grades, and, in 1964, Woodington began sending its 7th and 8th graders to Paperville High School.

Not all of the planned curriculum changes were, in fact, implemented, however. One in particular, a course in Family Living and Sex Education, was planned, but community concern about the course kept it from being implemented.

The State Department of Education was an important factor behind these changes, especially the introduction of art, guidance, physical education and some of the additional courses in English. The local districts did not always agree with the state requirements and resisted them initially. For instance, the Riverton School Board went on record in 1963 as being against adding an English teacher and a part-time guidance teacher:

> The Board considered the recommendations made by the State Department following the visitation to the high school on November 15. The Board went on record that it is the considered opinion of this group that an additional teacher in English is not needed and is not in the best interests of the school even though the failure to employ such a teacher means that the school is not approved as an Approved Comprehensive High School. It is the further opinion of the Board that the two-fifths teacher position required by Guidance can be absorbed within the present staff.

In Paperville, the voters deleted the physical education teacher position from the school budget in 1966. Approval of the physical education program was not granted for another three years.

It was during this period that the State Department of Education also tried to eliminate North Country Union by merging Riverton School District with a Union comprising the towns to the north of it, and by merging Woodington and Papertown with a union to the south of those two towns. This was fiercely and successfully resisted by the people of North Country Union. However, the State did remove three of the small unincorporated or sparsely inhabited towns from the Union and required the Union to add two staff members: an elementary coordinator who later became an assistant superintendent; and a teacher who rotated between Riverton and Paperville high schools. The Union received no state aid for these positions. However, it was the opinion of the superintendent and school board members that the Union had more to lose than to gain by being divided. Intertown rivalries also played a part. The people in Paperville thought that their tax burden would increase and that the towns to the south that wanted them to join the new union and create a regional high school did so because Paperville had a large paper mill to tax while the other towns lacked similar industry.

Between 1963 and 1969 a number of physical improvements were made in the buildings of the schools in North Country Union. New lighting was installed in the buildings and wood panelling was put up in the halls as well. These changes were in addition to the new construction that occurred during this period.

In 1965 the amount of federal money increased substantially, primarily with the introduction of Head Start programs. The superintendent's written summary of the Papertown School Board's discussion of Head Start indicates no great enthusiasm for the program. He wrote:

> I believe I can safely say the concensus of opinion was that we were dubious as to the actual merits of the case and values of the program, but that we felt that if other schools were taking advantage of this, we might be criticized publicly if we didn't even make at least an overture to participate in the program.

With this type of interest, it is no wonder that Head Start lasted only a year in Paperville, though it was more successful in Riverton where it still exists.

Federal funds were used to fund a number of special programs in addition to Head Start. Paperville used Title III funds to develop a remedial reading program. It also started a pilot Early Childhood Education program in conjunction with the state university. This program, begun in 1968, functioned as a readiness room, and later, when the local Catholic school closed (and with it, a kindergarten which was attended by Catholic and non-Catholic students), Paperville started its own kindergarten, incorporating some elements of the Early Childhood Program into the kindergarten.

Another federally funded program which began in 1969 was for students with learning handicaps and special needs. This program operated union-wide, serving children from all of the schools. It was originally established as a self-contained classroom with the expectation that it would change to an itinerant teacher format in which a special education teacher would move from school to school dealing with children on an individual basis. Movement from the self-contained classroom to the itinerant teacher method was impeded by disagreement between the principals of Paperville Elementary School and Riverton School as to the desirability of such a transition. As a result, the transition to the itinerant teacher method did not occur during the first year, but rather at the end of it.

Federal funds were used in Riverton and Paperville to provide special aides in reading. These aides worked with particular children during the regular school day and provided them with special drills.

The increased Federal presence in the school with its attendant bureaucracy led the superintendent to seek additional clerical help from the school boards. His plea apparently fell on deaf ears because a clerk was not added to the Union staff until 1974.

The 1960's, in addition to being noted for the number of changes that occurred in the schools, also saw the first superintendent of North Country Union to come under fire from the communities and school boards. The superintendent, who came in 1963 and left in April 1969, ran into difficulties, primarily in Paperville, starting in 1966. Nineteen-sixty six started three years of budget cuts in Paperville, something that was unusual for Paperville. In 1967, a special motion was passed at the School Meeting forcing the School Board to "remit to the town of Papertown any unanticipated revenue of receipts over and above the amount estimated for 1967-1968 and that this amount be used to reduce the town appropriation to the school district in 1967-68." Another motion was passed at the same meeting which ordered the School Board to submit a completed fiscal report to the voters at the next school meeting. The next year the voters increased the size of the school board from 3 to 5 members. This was done to allow people opposed to the superintendent to run for School Board the next year. In 1969 two people openly opposed to the superintendent ran for school board seats. One even promised publicly to fire the superintendent as soon as he was elected. Perhaps in order to forestall this possibility, the superintendent resigned April 1, 1969 and took a position elsewhere. The Principal of Paperville High School was named as his replacement.

The opposition to the superintendent stemmed from several of his actions and policies. For one thing, he did not live in Papertown. Rather, he lived in Princeton and built a house there even though there was a house for the superintendent in Paperville which was owned by the school district. Papertown and Princeton are intense rivals; the people in Princeton look down upon Papertown as a mill town, something the people in Papertown are aware of and resent. The superintendent also spent yearly budget surpluses on equipment and furnishings for the schools instead of turning money back to the towns. One reason these surpluses existed was because he underestimated the tuition Papertown School District received from other towns. The superintendent also spent money before receiving approval from the School Board. One glaring example of this was a snow blower which was bought for the schools but which was seen being used at his home on a snowy day. Some people thought that he confused his own personal interests with the interests of the schools and towns. People also claimed that the superintendent had a tendency to make statements without knowing the facts. This discredited him in the eyes of community members. He also hired a number of people who turned out to create more problems for the schools. One was a principal at the elementary school whom people did not like. Another was a high school teacher who reportedly stole a typewriter and tires and slept in the teachers' room in the high school. Finally, the superintendent was keen for publicity for himself and his schools. He brought in the controversial ITA reading program which, while innovative, lasted only several years. He also developed a special orientation program for junior high students in Paperville for which the schools and he received an award from a statewide organization devoted to improving schools. Many people saw these special programs as helping only a few students and teachers while they enhanced the superintendent's reputation. These were the reasons people cited for the opposition to the superintendent that arose and eventually led to his resignation.

COMMON PROBLEMS

In reviewing the development of the schools, a number of recurring themes and problems emerge. These include problems of space, student performance, faculty recruitment, localism, and school funding. This section will describe these as they are reflected in the historical record.

Space has always been a problem, especially in Papertown which did not suffer the drastic reduction in population during the first part of the century that Woodington and Riverton did. In 1898 the local paper reported that "the public school building is barely adequate to the present demands, and in the near future (Paperville) will erect a new modern school building sufficiently spacious for the future growth of the village." Ten years later the elementary school was built and eight years after the high school was built, both of which are still being used.

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The addition of the new buildings provided only a brief respite from overcrowding in Paperville High School. The high school had an addition to it in 1924 when the science room was constructed. Ten years later the superintendent reported "we are short one room at the Elementary building this year....At the High School building we are using every available classroom practically every period of the day." The next year, 1935, the shortage of space was remedied at the high school. In the 1935 Paperville School Report the superintendent wrote:

> At the High School last summer, three rooms were finished off with the assistance of federal aid. Through the CWA, we got a gift of the work, while the District furnished the material.

The Second World War diverted peoples' attention from the schools. With its close space again became a concern in both Paperville's and Riverton's schools. As noted earlier, Paperville began considering space problems at the elementary school in 1947 when it created a citizens committee to look into the space needs of its schools. Twelve years later, the school district acted to remedy this problem by building additions to both the high school and elementary school. Riverton dealt with its problem by transferring grades from Riverton School to the two-room Riverton Hollow School. Riverton acted in 1959 and 1966 with additions to Riverton School.

Space is still a problem in these schools. Paperville's High School and Elementary School are both crowded, and school personnel claim that lack of space is harming programs. Paperville School District currently rents classroom space from the Catholic and Methodist Churches which is used for kindergarten, second grade, and remedial reading and special education classes. Riverton is also overcrowded. Various remedial and special education activities have been conducted in the corridors for lack of space.

Woodington did not have the space problems that the other districts had. However, it had serious problems with the maintenance of its buildings. Lack of water or frozen water pipes were common problems with which the superintendent and School Board had to deal. Toilet inadequacies created problems with the State Department of Education in all of the schools in the district, but especially in the Homer School.

A second recurring problem was inadequate student performance. Concern for this began appearing in the 1920's. In 1921 the superintendent wrote in the Paperville School Report:

> Too large a number of pupils are retarded. This also means doubling the per capita costs of schooling. With 30 to 40 pupils per teacher it is a difficult task to leave necessary requirements and drill backward children enough to bring them up to standard.

The superintendent suggested hiring a special teacher to deal with these students. He wrote: "Some special teacher should have the task of working in school time, with retarded pupils." The next year such a teacher was hired, the first of the "special education" teachers the districts were to hire for short periods of time. The school rooms of this period also saw the beginning of ability grouping in the schools. The 1925 Paperville School Report stated:

> Tests have been given in all grades and divisions arranged so that as far as possible, those capable of working rapidly are put into divisions which are expected to do the maximum amount of work for that grade....At the elementary school, Mrs.____________ and her corps of teachers are making special effort to give each individual pupil the kind of work that he needs most. If a pupil is found to be backward in any special subject, he is given special drill in that subject....Special groups are made up, regardless of grades, for special drill in arithmetic, spelling, reading, etc. Other pupils who are already beyond grade in reading and spelling are being given special advanced work in literature.

The efficacy of such an arrangement is doubtful, because in 1935 the superintendent reported:

> In the Elementary School, there are quite a large number of pupils who do not seem to be able to keep up with the class in which they find themselves. Some of these pupils need more individual assistance than is possible for the regular classroom teacher to give in order that they may not become repeaters.

Concern for poor achievement by students persisted into the 50's and 60's as the following show:

> 1956 Papertown School Report. Plans for the coming year include the possibility of an opportunity class in which the slow learner will be given more time to concentrate on a discovered weakness with a qualified teacher free to give him added attention in a small class situation.

> 1959 Papertown School Board minutes. The principal of the high school asked for a person, at least part-time, for remedial work in reading and math.
>
> 1964 Papertown School Board minutes. The Board moved, because of the poor showing of students on the College Boards, to tighten up grading, create a dual track in the schools, and establish Course Guides and Outlines.
>
> 1965 Papertown School Board minutes. The superintendent recommended ITA for Paperville because of the high incidence of non-readers and below grade readers in Paperville.

Concern for poor achievement still exists in the North Country Union Schools. Giving slow learners special drills and special teachers is still the current mode of dealing with this problem. Much of the federal aid has been used to hire teacher aides who deal with these children and, as we will see, ES developed programs for them as well.

A third problem that schools in North Country Union faced was that of recruiting teachers. This problem, due to both the low salaries paid by the schools and their isolation, existed since the beginning of the century. In 1909 the superintendent wrote in the Riverton School Report:

> We made a few changes in our teaching force last fall. Miss _______________ resigned to take a school in Montrose, Colorado, at a substantial increase salary. Miss ____________, a graduate of the _________ Normal School, took Miss___________ place. Miss ____________ left to teach in the Commercial Department of the ___________ High School at a salary one-half larger than she received here. Miss ______________ also resigned from the school at the Hollow. These vacancies were filled respectively by Miss ____________, a __________ graduate, and by Miss _____________, who transferred from ________ School.... Miss _______________ left to take a course at the __________________ Normal School. Miss ____________, a graduate of our High School, filled this vacancy. Other towns seem to value our teachers for all that leave us receive a large increase in salary.

The problem of recruiting teachers became especially acute during and after the Second World War. The superintendent wrote the following in the Riverton School Report during the war years:

> The vacancies were filled, after considerable trouble...It has been necessary to eliminate most of the manual arts because an instructor could not be found for manual arts and sciences. (1943)

> We were fortunate to have only one change in our elementary staff with Mr. ____________, a four year graduate of ______ ________ Teacher's College taking over the work in grades 7 and 8. The new staff in the high school includes 4 new teachers....The schedule was revised to offer as many courses as possible to meet the needs of the students. We are fortunate to be able to offer such a varied program under such handicaps. I have been in constant contact with the teacher training institutions and agencies and I can say without fear of contradiction that the problem of teacher will be with us for several years. (sic) (1945)
>
> There was, with the exception of Mr.______________, a complete turnover in the high school....At the present time it has been necessary to make changes in the secondary field. Replacements are needed in the English, Language and Home Economics Department. (1946)
>
> There was, with the exception of Mr.____________, a complete turnover in the high school. (1947)
>
> There was a large turnover in the high school teaching staff again this year. (1948)

This problem persisted through the 1950's and into the 60's. In June, 1954 the Paperville School Board received a letter from a teacher who had just signed a contract for the coming school year which indicated that he did not want to come to work in Paperville. It stated: "Also we were not favorably impressed with Paperville itself, or housing facilities, and really feel that we would not want to settle there permanently." The Board responded that the person would be released from his contract only if a replacement for him could be found. On August 21, 1953 the superintendent reported to the Paperville School Board that: "he was still at a loss to find a teacher for the third and fourth grade position." On occasion, the School Board allowed the superintendent to hire teachers without their being interviewed by Board members. The Paperville School Board Meeting notes for May 11, 1955 state:

> The teacher shortage seems to be as acute this year as [it] has been any time in the past....The Board members are aware of the situation and authorized the Superintendent to use his best judgement if an emergency situation should arise wherein it seemed necessary to contract a teacher without first having the approval of the Board.

In 1965 the superintendent decided that the problems of recruiting might be alleviated by preparing an attractive brochure describing the communities and schools of North Country School Union and sending the brochure to college placement offices and teacher placement agencies. The brochure stated that North Country Union was "where the educational action is" and had color pictures of skiing and modern classrooms. At best the brochure exaggerated the attractiveness of the schools and recreational possibilities in the immediate vicinity. This superintendent also resorted to taking potential candidates for positions in Riverton the long way to Riverton from Paperville in order avoid the unattractive mill and mill housing in North Riverton.

The recruitment problem ended in the 1970's with the teacher surplus. The school districts still have to hire mostly inexperienced teachers, but they now have several applicants for each position that opens up, whereas in the past they frequently had none.

Another common theme in the history of North Country Union's schools has been localism. This has manifested itself in the resistance to closing the rural schools mentioned previously. It also showed itself in the refusal of North Country Union to allow itself to be dissolved during the 1960's when the state wanted the towns and school districts of the Union to join other, larger supervisory unions. It was the basis for the refusal of Papertown to join with Princeton and other school districts in forming a regional high school. Even today, people in Paperville are quick to point up shortcomings, real and imagined, with the regional high school and hence their good judgment in not joining it.

Finally, funding the schools has been a recurring problem. It is part of the reason why space and faculty recruitment have been chronic problems in the districts. The problem for school administrators has been that, even when they submitted what they considered to be minimal budgets to the voters, these were often turned down and out. This has been especially true in Riverton and Woodington where there is a tradition of cutting the budget. Special bond issues have not had much success, either, in any of the towns. The problem of funding has been exacerbated by the fact that state aid to education in New England State is very low.

SUMMARY

Through an examination of the events which marked the development of public education in the North Country in the 20th century, it is possible to discern several patterns and problems common to the schools of Riverton, Woodington, and Paperville. An initial period of consolidation led to space problems in all three districts. Budgets, however, were concurrently increased, and the ability to pay more teachers allowed the schools to focus on another of their problems, namely poor achievement, by hiring special aides and remedial teachers. Unfortunately, teachers' salaries remained comparatively low, such that recruiting well trained teachers has been and remains a problem for all the schools in the Union.

Ironically, an attitude of localism was common to the three districts as well, and was largely responsible for preventing collaboration among the districts on solving the other problems they shared. Besides town rivalries, the geographic environment and harsh climate did much to keep the towns separate and somewhat mistrustful of one another. And, as will be demonstrated, localism also was a key factor in complicating the planning and implementation of the ES project in North Country Union.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE SCHOOLS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ES PROJECT

North Country Union is a loose confederation of geographically coterminous and autonomous school districts created by the state for administrative purposes. Some background information on the State's role in local education and a comparison of the three districts in North Country Union can aid an understanding of later events in that supervisory union.

STATE FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES

As in other states, education in New England State is a state function, mandated by the state constitution, but funded and administered primarily at the local level. State authority resides in the state Board of Education, which has as its chief executive officer the Commissioner of Education. Some of the more important duties of the commissioner are: 1) the creation of supervisory unions consisting of one or more school districts and the dissolution of existing unions when it is in the best interests of the schools to do so; 2) the supervision of the expenditure of all moneys appropriated to the schools and the inspection of the various schools in the state; 3) the establishment of certification requirements for teachers, supervisors, and administrators of the public schools and the certification of those who meet the requirements for certification; 4) the administration of the school money through the local school boards; 5) the enforcement of the laws relative to school attendance; 6) the employment of superintendents, assistant superintendents, teacher consultants, and/or business administrators upon their nomination by the local boards in each of the supervisory unions; 7) determination of the state's share of the salaries of other state supervisory union personnel; and 8) the prepation and promulgation of "school programs, outlines of work, and courses of study" which will "best promote the educational interests of the state."

At the supervisory union level, state influence and power are felt in three areas. These are 1) teacher and administrator certification, 2) minimum standards for elementary and secondary schools, and 3) state financial contributions to local districts.

Each supervisory union is responsible for developing a master plan to accommodate local needs and characteristics, within certain state guidelines. With regard to teacher certification, the master plan must provide for the following requirements for teachers: 1) knowledge of subject area, 2) basic teaching skills, 3) orientation to the structure and operation of local skills, and 4) exploratory or innovative activities.

Similarly, the state has adopted regulations or guidelines for elementary and secondary schools.

ORGANIZATION OF SUPERVISORY UNIONS

In New England State, supervisory unions are legal corporations capable of suing and being sued, purchasing and disposing of real property, entering into contracts, and receiving grants from the state and federal government. They provide administrative and supervisory services to the school districts comprising them and they can, as does North Country Union, also provide instructional services to the school districts.

The supervisory union has two components, the union board and the central administration. The union board is composed of the members of the local school boards. In the case of North Country Union, it consisted of 11 members; five from Papertown, three from Woodington, and three from Riverton. The duties of the union board are to choose a chairman, secretary, and treasurer; to nominate a superintendent and/or assistant superintendent, teacher consultant, or business agent when necessary; to set the salaries of the above personnel as well as those of teachers, secretaries, clerks, etc.; to approve programs that might be instituted at the union level; and to apportion the local districts' shares of union costs among the various districts comprising the union.

The union itself is essentially an organizational device for providing management and supervisory services to the local districts and sharing the expenses of these activities among them. Thus, union personnel keep the books and purchase school supplies for the various districts. Very little educational policy is developed at the union level; for the most part this occurs at the district level where school boards and building principals play major roles. The educational activities that do occur at the union level are those that are shared throughout the districts, though not all shared services are lodged at the district level. Districts sometimes share services in order to take advantage of some of the federal programs which cannot be funded below a minimum amount. By having the union apply for a federal program, services for which the local school districts would otherwise be qualified can be supplied to them.

The superintendent is reponsible to three autonomous school boards with school systems that, in actuality, vary considerably in their problems, needs, and financial resources. The boards are empowered by statute to exert considerable control over what occurs in the schools. Their power is buttressed vis-a-vis the state by the fact that state contributions to local school districts are relatively small. The variability between school boards and districts, combined with the relatively great power of the local boards, acts to reduce the amount of direct educational influence and supervision that come from the top--the superintendent's office. This tends to create a leadership vacuum at the district level and can reduce the amount of integration of the school system.

One result of the leadership vacuum is that the key educational leaders in the districts become the principals who are charged with running the educational program of their buildings. The initiative for programs and curricular change tends to reside with them, though formal approval for change resides with the boards and superintendent's office. Conversely, the principals also have the ability to impede program and curricular change.

ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN NORTH COUNTY UNION[3]

Basic Organization

The Papertown school program includes kindergarten through 12th grade. The school district has two schools, both located in the village of Paperville. The classes of Paperville Elementary School include kindergarten through 6th grade. The school itself was built in 1908. The original building is a three-story brick and stone structure containing 10 classrooms, four on the first two floors and two on the third floor. After a fire on the third floor, townspeople voted to ban classes on the third floor. A cafeteria which feeds both elementary and high school students is located in the basement. A one-story brick addition containing four classrooms was built in 1959.

The land on which the school is located is paved; there is no dirt or grass playground. The play area has several swings and some basketball hoops. The entire playground is enclosed by a fence to prevent children from wandering into the street.

The elementary school is located on a small plot of land at the center of a fork formed by Route 3. One fork, the truck route, skirts Paperville, while the other leads to the center of town. Directly across from the school are located a service station, the Boston and Maine Railroad tracks, and the town fire station. To the north is the Methodist Church and minister's house; behind the school is a house and some garages belonging to houses and businesses on Paperville's main street. To the southeast is a yard where Paperville Paper Company stores its wood.

The roads around the school, by virtue of their being the main roads in and out of town, are well travelled. Pulp and trailer trucks passing by, as well as trains loading and unloading materials at the paper mill, occasionally make the area of the school noisy.

Because of space limitations, some of the elementary grades and programs meet in buildings other than the elementary school. The district rents two classrooms as well as a smaller special purpose room in St. Francis Hall, which is owned by the Catholic Church. Kindergarten and second grade meets in St. Francis Hall. The district rents one classroom as well as three small special purpose rooms in Carter Hall, which is owned by the Methodist Church. A second grade and special education classes meet in Carter Hall.

Paperville High School is a brick building built in 1916. Additions to the building were constructed in 1924 and 1959. The classes at Paperville High School include grades 7-12. The physical plant includes 12 academic classrooms, a home economics room, a woodworking shop, drafting rooms, an art room, a music room, a gymnasium, a library, and a study hall. The gymnasium, locker facilities, and music room were included in the 1959 addition. The art room and the language room were converted from two storage rooms.

The high school has virtually no land immediately contiguous to it where students can congregate or athletic events can be held. Directly across from the high school is a community recreational area with a large playing field, a paved basketball court, a swimming pool, and a skating arena. The playing field is used by high school physical education classes. The athletic fields for the high school are located about a half-mile away on the road to Riverton.

The high school is located in a residential area just north of the center of Paperville on Route 3. The heavy volume of truck traffic sometimes causes noise problems in those classes that are on the street side, especially in the warmer weather when windows are likely to be open.

A substantial number of the 747 students attending Paperville's schools in 1972 were tuition students. Woodington, under the AREA agreement, sent 21 seventh and eighth graders and 40 ninth through twelfth graders to Paperville; Derby sent 10 students to grades K-8 and four to grades 9-12; Darlington sent seven to grade K-8 and six to grades 9-12; one student from Princeton attended the elementary school.

Riverton's School District's educational program encompasses grades 1-12. The district has two schools, Riverton Hollow School and Riverton School. Riverton Hollow School is located in Riverton Hollow and is a two-room school built in 1913. It was used by the district until 1970 and had a primary room (grades 1-3) and an intermediate room (grades 4-6). It is now used to house some personnel for North Country Educational Services and a Head Start program.

Riverton School includes grades 1-12 and is located in the village of North Riverton. The school sits on a hill overlooking the village, the Long River, and Route 3. It was built in 1916 and is a brick structure. In 1959, a gymnasium, a cafeteria, a woodshop, and a science classroom were added. Three more classrooms were added in 1966. The old school building contains 14 classrooms and a library/study hall. Two of the classrooms and the library/study hall are located in the basement of the building and are essentially remodelled storage rooms. The addition contains two classrooms, a home economics room, a science classroom/laboratory, a woodshop, and a gymnasium/cafeteria with kitchen facilities.

The elementary students (grades 1-6) use the two classrooms in the basement, one of which has a small enclosed area for use by a teacher aide. Generally, this room is occupied by the largest elementary class. The other elementary classes are located on the first floor of the old building. Classes for grades 7-12 are located in the other rooms in both the old building and the new addition. The guidance office, located on the first floor, is also used as a classroom for special courses.

Set off on the hill, Riverton School has more land than any of the other schools in the union. Directly behind the school is a large playing field that is used for recess periods as well as for athletic contests. In a shaded area on the south side of the building are some swings and play equipment used by elementary students.

Like the Paperville schools, Riverton School received a number of tuition students, primarily from neighboring towns. For the academic year 1972-1973, Riverton School received 46 elementary and 16 high school students from Bloomington; eight elementary and three high school students from Lordship; two elementary students who were wards of a neighboring state; and two elementary and three high school students from Slaterville.

Woodington School District provides educational facilities and instruction for grades 1-6 in a two-room school located in the village of Woodington on the state highway which runs between Paperville and Frenchtown. The school was built in 1900 and contains two classrooms and kitchen facilities. One room contains grades 1-3, the other contains grades 4-6. In addition, Woodington paid tuition for 61 students to go to Paperville High School and 11 to Frenchtown High School.

The school has a dirt playground with some play equipment located on one side of the building. Directly behind the building is the Fish River. On the other side of the school is a covered bridge and the Union Church which, together with the school, make a quaint and often photographed site. Across from the school are the Town Hall, a cemetery, and a small town library.

Professional Staff

Most teachers and administrators in North County Union schools received their undergraduate training at state schools in Northern New England. The most common school is State College in New England State, a teacher training school that, in line with trends in higher education, has become a liberal arts college specializing in education. It is the northernmost state school in New England State. Most of the teachers have bachelor's degrees, though two teachers at Paperville Elementary and two teachers at Riverton School are listed as not having a degree. Master's degrees are not common in any of the districts. The superintendent and elementary consultant have master's degrees, as do the principal and one guidance counselor at Paperville High School and Riverton School. Other than these people, only one elementary teacher, one high school teacher, and one librarian hold a master's degree in Paperville's schools.

Recruitment generally occurs through the use of the various state placement bureaus and the New England State Employment Security Office. Applicants are first screened in the superintendent's office, and promising candidates are invited to visit the district where there is an appropriate opening. These candidates are interviewd by the superintendent and the principal of the building where they might work. The decision to hire someone is left to the principal, though formally a person is recommended by the superintendent and hired by the school board. Generally, the board does not interview teaching candidates. They do interview candidates for principalships, however.

Even though there has been a teacher surplus in recent years, recruitment is still somewhat of a problem for the districts of North Country Union. The lack of housing and isolation of the districts tend to reduce their attractiveness to potential recruits. The worry which administrators once had about being able to fill vacancies before the start of school has been replaced by the problem of attracting experienced teachers. This manifests itself in the large number of relatively new teachers in the schools in the various districts.

The salary scale paid by North Country Union districts, reputedly lower than salaries paid in the southern part of the state, also may contribute to the recruiting difficulties. In 1972-1973, only Riverton had a salary schedule, neither Papertown nor Woodington had a salary schedule and Woodington, which has only two teachers, did not even have a beginning or minimum salary. Riverton's salary schedule ranged from $6,500 to $9,100 for teachers with a bachelor's degree, depending on their experience. For teachers with a master's degree the range was from $6,825 to $9,750, depending on experience. Papertown had a minimum salary of $6,500.

In 1972-1973, Riverton School employed a principal, a vice principal who also taught and ran the school library, a guidance counselor, a secretary, 18 teachers, three teacher aides, and a part-time nurse. The professional staff, excluding aides and the secretary, averaged 6.7 years of experience. However, this average was affected by the unusual experience of two teachers who had taught for 23 and 28 years each. Five teachers were new in 1972-1973, and four had only taught two or three years. Further, the newness of the staff was concentrated among those who taught elementary school. The elementary teachers averaged about 5.1 years of experience, while the secondary teachers averaged 8.1 years experience. Only two of the secondary teachers were relatviely new--1972-1973 being the third year for both of them--while six of the 10 elementary teachers had taught for three years of less in 1972-1973.

Woodington School had two teachers and an aide in 1972-1973. One teacher had had eight years of experience, while the other teacher had had two years of experience.

Paperville Elementary School employed a principal, a secretary, 17 teachers (one of whom was shared with Riverton), and four teacher aides. The professional staff averaged 6.6 years' experience in 1972-1973. Again, this average was affected by extremes. Five teachers had had 13 or more years of experience in 1972-1973, while nine had taught three years or less.

Paperville High School employed a principal, a vice principal who also taught industrial arts courses, a guidance counselor, a secretary, 20 teachers (21 including the vice principal), a part-time librarian, and a full-time library aide. The professional staff averaged 8.2 years teaching experience but, as in the other cases, this average was affected by the fact that five teachers had taught more than 10 years, one having taught for 23 years, another for 39 years. Almost half of the teaching staff had only had three years or less of experience.

Teachers are supposed to be evaluated by the principal of their building on a yearly basis. In some instances, this is delegated to vice principals or to department heads. The elementary consultant also observes teachers in the schools. Teachers are evaluated in such areas as discipline, teacher style, student involvement, and evidence of planning. The evaluation is presented to the teacher for his or her signature and is kept in the teacher's file.

All of the schools have faculty meetings; yearly orientation meetings, workshops and self-studies occur when new methods or instructional materials are introduced.

Papertown and Riverton have policies encouraging faculty to continue their education. Both districts paid part of the tuition for courses which teachers took during 1972-1973; Riverton paid $16.50 per credit, and Papertown paid half of the teacher's tuition. Woodington had no such policy in 1972-73. Teachers in both Riverton and Papertown take advantage of the tuition reimbursement to continue their education. Though a few teachers also attend conferences and conventions, attendance there is more common among administrators.

A Comparison of the Communities and the Educational Settings of Woodington, Paperton, and Riverton

The school districts which comprise North Country Supervisory Union vary in a number of ways. One way in which they differ is in their diversity of educational programs. Papertown, which is the most affluent as well as the largest school district, offers more educational programs than either Woodington or Riverton. Paperville Elementary School has a kindergarten and a remedial reading teacher, which both Woodington and Riverton lack. Most of the departments at Paperville High School have several members (the exceptions are art, music, and foreign languages), while Riverton School has only one multi-member department--English. Larger departments enable Paperville High School to offer a wider variety of courses, including calculus, PSSC physics, and an office practices worksite program, which Riverton was unable to offer. The general feeling among people is that Papertown's schools have more modern texts and equipment than do those of either Woodington or Riverton. Paperville High School also has a more varied athletics program than Riverton.

The communities also differ in facilities which are available for educational purposes. Papertown is able to rent space in two churches for classroom use, which could not be done in Riverton or Woodington. In addition to the school libraries, the village of Paperville has a modern, well-stocked library which is larger and open more often than the libraries in Woodington or Riverton. Finally, a community field and a swimming pool which are located directly across the street from the Paperville High School are used by the schools. Papertown also has a more extensive summer recreational program than either Riverton or Woodington.

School personnel themselves perceive the three towns to be quite different. Riverton is regarded as a lower class community with a great many broken homes and sizeable numbers of families on welfare. Many of Riverton's children enter school with emotional handicaps and without the abilities and skills (such as number recognition, ability to recognize different sounds, knowledge of the letters of the alphabet and their sounds) which children from more affluent communities possess. Thus, these children enter school already behind their peers in more middle class communities. Many of their first grade activities are actually in preparation for beginning school. According to teachers, these children's progress is such that sizeable numbers quickly fall behind grade level in math and language arts skills and never catch up. As they get older, discipline becomes more and more of a problem. Only a small number attend post-secondary schools.

In Riverton School, the high school demands most of the principal's attention because of discipline problems and because education in the high school has a more complicated structure than in the elementary school, which is structured around self-contained classrooms. The elementary teachers often feel slighted and short-changed, both because the older students have more claim to use of the building (for example, the gym) and because the principal appears to neglect their problems and concerns. Elementary teachers seem more dissatisfied with the principal than do the secondary teachers.

Woodington is also a poor community, and while beginning students often lack some of the skills needed for success in school, the teachers do not regard broken homes and discipline as major problems affecting the quality of education. Rather, they feel that the students fall behind in math and language arts skills because of a lack of resources and equipment in the school. In Paperville, teachers think that the children from Woodington entering the seventh grade tend to be behind their counterparts from Paperville.

At Paperville High School, some teachers are concerned about the level of academic standards. They feel that the students who receive the highest grades take easier courses (business rather than college prep courses), and this introduces an element of injustice into the system. Other teachers are concerned about the lack of language arts skills and the apparent failure of the English department to deal with the problem. Maintaining student discipline is also a problem.

At Paperville Elementary School, teachers are concerned about the level of reading and math skills of the children. Math teachers stress computational skills because they think that these skills are neglected in modern math, which has been introduced into the school system. In reading and language arts, Paperville eliminated the ITA reading system and began to use more traditional teaching methods. A system using Scott Foresman texts has been introduced on an annual basis over the past several years.

People think of Paperville as a working and middle class community. Broken homes and poorly prepared children are not frequent or serious problems as in Riverton and Woodington. The kindergarten and remedial reading programs are viewed as concrete steps designed to remedy any such problems that might exist.

In general, education is not a major concern of the people in North Country Union. People show little concern over the content or method of the teaching materials in the schools. Most people are willing to leave all thought and planning in education to the educators. For example, Riverton has no PTA, and Paperville and Woodington have only struggling PTAs. Open houses sponsored by the PTAs or schools are not well attended. School meetings are not nearly so well attended as town meetings, even though the school budget is frequently larger than the town budget. The concerns that people do have focus on issues like discipline, costs, and consolidation. Holding down costs is important to people because most of the school revenue comes from local sources. Bond issues receive a lot of attention and are frequently turned down. Because of the reluctance to spend money for new buildings, all three districts have severe space needs and are unable to offer certain types of programs.

Attempts at regionalization have been strongly resisted, especially in Paperville. Townspeople want their children to attend schools in the communities in which they live. Losing a school, especially a high school, would mean that the towns would lose their athletic teams, which are a major source of community identity and pride. Real and imagined troubles at a nearby regional school are arguments which are frequently used in Paperville for not joining other districts to form a regional school.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL AFFAIRS

Community participation in schools tends to be limited and indirect. Townspeople seldom attend the monthly School Board meetings. For instance, during the 1973-1974 school year, only one set of parents came to a School

Board meeting in any of the three towns. This was in Paperville, and they came to find out why the weekly menu for hot lunches was not published so their children could decide whether to take hot lunch on a given day.

The few times that a number of people did come to the School Board meetings were when they had a strong complaint about, or position on, some school issue.' This happened twice in Riverton between 1973 and 1976. Once the Christmas music program, which was being presented to townspeople, students, and staff, degenerated into chaos, and the music teacher's actions during the program appeared to add to the chaos rather than reduce it. This brought a number of people to the next School Board meeting to complain about the program, the music teacher and the principal's failure to prevent such confusion. The second instance occurred when the School Board had to eliminate a staff position in Riverton because the school budget had been cut by the voters at School Meeting. A group of people came to the meeting and they argued that the guidance counselor's position should be eliminated. The parents were upset with guidance because the counselor allegedly had not helped some students apply for scholarships and financial aid. This, coupled with the previous guidance counselor's aberrant behavior (he had a nervous breakdown in school and allegedly was involved with drugs and had advocated premarital sex for students), made the guidance position a likely one to cut. The parents were successful because the School Board did cut that position.

School Meetings are less well attended and much less lively than Town Meetings even though they frequently occur back-to-back in the same hall. If Town Meeting precedes School Meeting, many people leave during the short intermission between the two meetings. Further, fewer people raise questions or points in discussing items to be voted on in the School Meeting than in the Town Meeting. This is the case even though the amount of money being appropriated to the schools is much greater than that appropriated in the Town Meeting.

Preliminary budget meetings are also sparsely attended. These meetings occur before the School Meeting and are for people to learn specifics about the budget. These meetings are held for each school district and for the Union budget.

The exception to this occurs when a bond issue is being considered. Then attendance at the School Meeting will be high and discussion lively. In Paperville, the School Board presented the voters with a proposition for a new elementary school in 1974. More people attended the School Meeting than attended the Town Meeting and the vote in the School Meeting was higher. The bond issue did not pass.

Community influence on the schools and school policy tends to be indirect. People contact School Board members individually when they have a complaint about the schools. The School Board members then pursue the issue with the school personnel or at the School Board meetings. School personnel try to have School Board members direct people who have concerns or complaints about the schools to the person mast closely associated with the problem, typically the teacher, and then move to higher levels in the hierarchy of the schools to seek a satisfactory resolution if they do not achieve this at a lower level. Raising the issue in School Board meetings should be the last resort, not the first, as it typically is. Though school administrators try to have School Board members channel complaints up through the system, some School Board members appear to be unresponsive to their concerns and persist in going directly to the principal or School Board with a complaint or problem.

Of course, not all complaints are brought directly to School Board members. Most are brought either to the teacher or principal and resolved at this level. Both teachers and principals are generally responsive to parents' concerns and try to resolve them if possible. Both want to keep concerned or upset parents from going to the superintendent or School Board if they can.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SCHOOLS

As might be expected, community members see good and bad things in their schools. The areas in which the residents of North Country School Union think their local schools are particularly good are their small size, the programs they offer, the type and quality of their teachers, and, to a lesser extent, the administration and discipline of the schools.

The benefits of small size are that it allows more attention to individual students and closer student-faculty relationships, as the following comments from a survey of community attitudes (see Chapter Five) indicate:

> In spite of crowded conditions, some exceptional students are able to get the individual help and attention they need.
>
> I think that they try to keep up with modern methods yet our schools have small enough classes so they don't lose the personal touch as they do in large Regional schools.
>
> Small enough so all--both students and faculty--retain identity as individuals.
>
> Despite the fact that more space is needed there are a small enough number of students so that a good firm relationship may be established.

With regard to school programs, people are positive about the overall curriculum, the fact that it is modern and up-to-date, and about specific aspects of the program, including the active sports program offered at the schools.

> A very good sports program. Math, English and science programs are very good in a school this size.
>
> The development of a program where the student must assume responsibility...the attempt to provide a curriculum to satisfy his needs.
>
> Our schools offer a wide and varied amount of subjects to satisfy most students if they are interested. They also offer a good and plentiful amount of extra activities. A real super set-up for children who need extra help.
>
> Offering a good curriculum--preparing for future education.
>
> Our business department is excellent, but too small. We have very good guidance advice as our students do well in college.
>
> K through 6 have extra teachers to help the children in whatever subject they are slow in, and most classes have teacher's aid (sic) which makes it easier on the teacher, and the children get more individual attention.
>
> Good shop, good art program, good band. Improving math and science.
>
> Good sports program, wide variety of courses.
>
> Our youngsters that graduate seem to be able to keep up with others in college.

People who think that the teachers in North Country Union are an asset generally comment on the quality of the teachers.

> I feel that they contain some very high quality individuals who concertedly devote their efforts and time to the educational process.
>
> Good teachers and they are backed by good teaching aids and supplies.
>
> I think having our older local teachers out of our system and younger teachers who haven't formed an opinion of each family before they meet the child had helped many children do better on his or her merit.
>
> Teachers have considerable freedom to determine what and how they will teach.

People are also positive about the quality of administration and discipline in the schools.

> The discipline is better. Principals are trying to keep order.
>
> We have a very well-supervised school, neat and clean.
>
> We have a lot of freedom in what we do--and the administration is helpful to their teachers and stands behind them. It is a very open, easy, free atmosphere to work in. There is a good effort by the administration to do as much as possible for the school and staff.
>
> Discipline is very good.
>
> Administrative Board striving to make more courses available and more space for students.

However, other people view these same issues as problem areas, (shortcomings in the curriculum and program, shortcomings with teachers, deficiencies and apathy in the community, poor facilities and disciplinary problems in the schools). People in the communities reported a number of different shortcomings with the curriculum and program offerings of the schools. Their comments are presented below:

> Patriotism should be taught in school--love of country can be learned. Care of community environment should be taught in school. There would be less littering if beauty of our country was stressed and improvement of locality.
>
> Lack of consistency in 1-6 reading program. Reports on students to parents are late from grammar school.
>
> Academic oriented secondary program. Departmentalized program in grades 5-6 very poor.

Lack of skill practice and building.

I feel that the Public Schools in my community don't prepare the kids to make a living once they get out of school. We need courses in the technical feald (sic).

Reading and comprehension.

Schools don't really get kids ready to go right from school to a good job or being able to handle the competition between them and their elders in jobs.

Small school--can't offer enough courses--particularly vocational for students not interested in furthering their education.

Media and resource centers are non-existant (sic) within the schools--materials must be sent away for in a distant community.

Need more individual help for problem pupils.

Not enough equipment.

Boys who are capable of good grades but think it makes them a sissy to get an A.

Lack of Vocational Education. Limited curriculum.

Teaching useful subjects instead of flower arrangement.

Too much emphasis put on the high school.

Students can't get the subjects they want, it's too crowded, hours of subjects during the week are very limited. No programs for the slower learners.

We are not equipped to handle special children who have learning disabilities as they have to be transported to Frenchtown. Some of the teachers here have pupils at several different learning levels.

Trying to help the slow learner we have quite a few up here and for years there was no way they could get help they were drop and forgotten and not no more. There is more interest in finding out how to help and what to teach that will help them the rest of their lives to earn they living (sic).

To get kids of today to realize that they need an education and good of a education that they can possibly get from their particular school offers (sic).

More attention to spending on things that kids should be taught at home.

Lack of space in schedule and vocational courses both Riverton and Paperville.

There is a lot of free time. Should be able to do more.

Dealing with the language problems. (Many French speaking families.)

Rigidness in education, lack of real communication with students.

Keeping quality of education high.

Don't teach children how to get along together.

> We need a larger variety of courses to choose from.
>
> We need more vocational instruction and on the job work.
>
> Not modern enough in teaching our students. No physical education and students need it desperately.
>
> The largest problem is a lack of vocational/technical training.
>
> We need more vocational courses.
>
> Small school--difficult to offer variety. Limited options in scheduling.
>
> Also, the schools do not have the money, the time, or proper facilities to deal with children who have special learning problems. The above I feel is a major problem.
>
> Money for the most up-to-date, modern vocational education we can give them.
>
> I would like to see the schools deal with the feelings of a student in general about school. To make it seem like a good place to go instead of the fould way a child learns to speak in grade 7 since 7-12 are in the same building in our town (sic).
>
> No vocational course or trades...Not enough variety of classes and students are usually stuck with courses against their will...Big problem is the area in which students have to work.
>
> The most important, I feel from once being a student, is that parents don't raise their children to have the respect for the teachers, then the school doesn't help because they don't give subjects that keep the student interest. Also the schools aren't built properly to take care of the students that are in the school.

Despite the fact that some look favorably upon the schools because of their support of the teachers, people had a number of concerns about the teachers in their schools. One concern was with the quality of the teachers. Some people thought that the teachers were not of the highest caliber. Another and lesser concern was with the actual instruction in the schools. Teachers were teaching the wrong things or they were doing a poor job of teaching what they should be teaching. The comments of the townspeople reflect these problems and hint at their causes:

> Need teachers who act as mature adults who demand respect. Too many are acting on a level with students. Too many use foul language in the classroom and tell dirty stories. We don't need this type teacher.
>
> Dedicated teachers are too few in number.
>
> Lack of interest of both student and teacher.

We have too many teachers who think of teaching as an 8 to 3 job which it is not. These teachers are not pulling their share of the job. In many cases particularly the English Department they are not teaching the material which the students need.

To get good teachers with good morals.

In my opinion teachers don't really care about our young (1-6 grade) children's education enough. (My son is not being taught in my opinion to use all of his ability.)

Lack of housing accomodations for school personnel and families. Too many school staff have to live outside the community. In my day--they were called "suitcase teachers".

Poor teachers.

Teachers trying to CHANGE the whole world in one semester. Some class discussions are a little too free even in this day and age. Such classes as this aren't teaching much, and these teachers are trying to be pals instead of instructors. They are resulting in sense of familiarity with the students instead of instilling an attitude of respect and a desire to learn.

Poor teacher evaluations due to weak administration.

Real teachers, not professionals.

The teachers are on the average fair but some are setting poor examples for the youngsters. Teachers on drugs, etc. are a bad influence, they will see enough of it without them dealing with it daily.

Need dedicated teachers. Too many of the top payed personnel do not teach classes--Teachers don't spend enough time in school.

The inferior teachers who prefer to teach improper morals and inform children that they should not be forced to go to Church or to believe in God.

High turnover of teachers. Need more experienced teachers--have some but would like more.

Incompetent teachers--Permissive attitudes toward crime, narcotics, etc.

Teachers who have tenure and are "taking it easy."

The next biggest [problem after space] is inferior teachers. It's hard to find teachers the children can respect. A problem with some of the teachers here is that they try to relate too closely with the children.

People saw a number of school problems residing within the communities of North Country School Union. These included parents who were apathetic towards and non-supportive of the schools, apathetic students, limited financial resources in the communities and lack of communication between the schools and the community. Comments pertaining to these concerns are presented below:

> A lot of people in our town don't want new schools, though. They don't want to pay for them.
>
> Apathy of towns' people, lack of good community and school communications, the transient type of citizen found in the northern portion of town, the lack of professional people among the town's population, lack of cultural offerings.
>
> Public interest.
>
> Too many children do not become interested in learning--for several reasons, one is home life and attitude of parents.
>
> Trying to meet State Standards and keeping an accredited system.
>
> Poor self-image of students, home and community.
>
> Apathy on the part of the parents.
>
> School Board feel average wage earner has no business in school affairs.
>
> An interest in all people.
>
> Not enough communication between school personnel and public.
>
> Budgets.
>
> Student and parent apathy toward learning.
>
> Pressure to form large regional schools with impressive physical plants and manytime the maintaining of plant and the teachers salaries overshadow and bury the student--if the student loses his place in the school what are they for--people should always come before building, gadgetry and teacher's impressive titles--and students are people.
>
> Primarily the biggest problems in this area center around the child's homelife and the opportunities provided by the community. There appears in many cases, little concern for the child's general welfare, whether academic or socially, found at home. As for the community or area, it provided very little to stimulate the child or student. If there are resources, there is very little money to develop them or to provide for a substantial number of students.
>
> Public resentment of high property taxes to support the schools.
>
> With parents who expect the school system to teach those things which should be taught at home such as respect, obedience, politeness, etc.
>
> Too little communication between school and townspeople, although the gap has been noticeably closed. Too much complaining and criticism from the parents, when they actually know little about a situation. Both of these probably have been improved.

> Lack of housing accomodations for school personnel and families. Too many of school staff have to live outside the community. In my day they were called "suit case" teachers.
>
> Parents do not understand the Education System of our Public School.
>
> Not enough money (for more classes and room for sports) in the neighborhood to make these things possible unless we except a lot of help from outside (sic).
>
> The average parent is complacent about education which is reflected in the attitude of students. Even the best teachers would have a hard time in such a situation.

Another concern of parents and community members was the facilities and equipment of the schools. A number of people thought that the facilities were inadequate to deal with the numbers of students and the programs the schools were trying to offer. These concerns are registered in the comments below:

> K-6 too small, have to rent outside rooms. No gym in school. Cafeteria too small. 7-12 too small...it's too crowded...Space for art and shop very limited, not all those who want it can take it.
>
> Lack of space and like many small communities we don't have much money for additional space.
>
> Not enough classrooms in the elementary. Poor playground area in the elementary. Not enough room in high school for good vocational program.
>
> Our schools, especially the elementary schools are old buildings (more than 1 story). They need new equipment and new material.
>
> Not enough room for classes not enough room for sports unless they travel about 1 mile on the state road.
>
> We are overcrowded in most areas. We need a larger business dept., shop, home economics, and libraries. I believe K-8 should be in one building.
>
> Building improvements for the grade school..New buildings.
>
> Space--overcrowded. Not enough classroom, showers, teachers. Need expanded labs, need a much larger library with additional facilties, need larger quarters for shop (we only offer woodworking and mechanical drawing) for Home Economics (much too small), for music (need practice room), for art (too crowded), need more room for business courses, improved guidance facilities. The graded schools need more classrooms (we rent 4 or 5 classrooms for classes) and more playground space and an auditorium.

> Too small class rooms and too many puiples (sic) to one teacher.
>
> Schools are too overcrowded. More space is necessary. A larger library is needed. Science labs are too small. The Home Economics should be expanded. Classes are too large.
>
> Lack of adequate space. Need for new school impeded by too many older people and not enough younger ones with children working to get improved or new school.
>
> Schools are quite old and like other schools the attendance is greater and space becomes a problem.
>
> Elementary kids being kept in same building (as high school students) and same playing ground (as high school students in Riverton).

Finally, some people were concerned with discipline in the schools and drug and alcohol use by students. These concerns are apparent in the comments below:

> Vandalism--children are not taught to respect property--local shop students systematically destroy tools in class.
>
> No disciplinary in school children actions.
>
> Discipline, we are quite well in that respect.
>
> Discipline of some of the children. Theft.
>
> Discipline
>
> Disciplinary--Parents are too busy and teachers not being able to take the time--unfair to others.
>
> Drinking and drugs. General discipline.
>
> Discipline problems--probably related to home training.
>
> Punishment for students could be firmer.
>
> High School today is too lenient. Students go all over in cars on the grounds--too promiscuous--too much free time.
>
> Drugs...everything in this society is weak. We need a strong arm, to overcome, meaning PARENTS! keeping their interest and becoming involved.
>
> Drugs and alcohol at Paperville.

RECENT CHANGES

As pointed out in Chapter 3, localism has traditionally been an impediment in North Country Union to the districts' ability to collaborate on a planned approach to solving their common problems. Because local autonomy is important to them, residents magnify the differences that exist between schools and school districts and the personal costs that common planning would bring. Another reason for the lack of common planning among the three school districts is the fact that there is virtually no interdependence between the three districts which would make interaction and common planning necessary. Each district funds its schools and only its schools; there is no sharing of facilities or programs, and only a minimal sharing of personnel. Because of the strong emphasis placed on local autonomy and the lack of interdependence between the districts, people do not perceive the need for regular contact or coordinated planning between school districts, and there has been little pressure or leadership from school or union administration in this direction. As the Assistant Superintendent of schools said: "People feel there is little value in doing [common planning] and there is little evidence to suggest that it has been worthwhile when attempted."

Rather than at the union level, program planning occurs primarily at the school level in response to needs articulated by teachers and principals. Between 1969 and 1972, Woodington School introduced modern math into the primary and intermediate grades. In Paperville during the same period a number of changes were also made in the schools. At the high school, the English and social studies offerings were increased through the addition of a number of mini-courses, library holdings were increased, and outdated texts were replaced. At the elementary school, the ITA reading system was abandoned and replaced with a new one, an early childhood room and kindergarten were established, and modern math was introduced into the school.

These changes in the Paperville schools precipitated other changes, however. During the late 1960's, people in the town of Papertown became concerned over the policies and spending practices of the superintendent. They thought that the superintendent was spending money lavishly on frills and that the School Board was merely rubber stamping his decisions and activities. At the same time, a number of new teachers had been hired, especially at the high school, who were not native to the area; some local residents perceived them to be non-traditional in educational philosophy and practices and lax in discipline. As a result of the growing dissatisfaction with the schools, the School Board was expanded from three to five members, and several people who were openly critical of the Superintendent ran for positions on the school board. One claimed to have run solely on the platform of firing the Superintendent. Faced with an openly hostile school board, the Superintendent resigned during the 1969-1970 school year and was replaced by the principal of Paperville High School. The vice principal at Paperville was elevated to principal.

At the end of the school year, the new principal of Paperville resigned and took a position in another school system, in part, as his successor claimed, because of staff conflict. He was replaced by the current principal, who had a reputation for enforcing discipline and dealing forcefully with faculty problems. His mandate from the school board was to tighten discipline and weed out the ineffective and troublesome teachers. In the next two years, seven teachers left the school system. In two instances, the resignation or dismissal of a teacher at the high school led to the resignation of a spouse at the elementary school.

The new board adopted a much more questioning and intrusive attitude toward the schools. It backed the efforts of the principal to remove teachers he found lacking in some qualities. Since its expansion, the board's main concern has been to keep expenditures low while maintaining what it feels is a good, traditional program in the "basics"--discipline and student deportment, and athletics. The new superintendent has worked out well as far as the board is concerned; relations between school and union administration and the board are trusting and cordial, though the board appears to be much more active and involved in school affairs than in the past, especially at the high school.

Changes also occurred in Riverton during the same period. A new principal was hired in 1968 after a series of short-term principals. He was more inclined to non-traditional approaches to education and had previous experience teaching in an urban setting and working at a Job Corps center in a neighboring state. He began trying to effect changes in the school, particularly in the curriculum. By allying himself with his assistant principal, who had taught in Riverton since the 1930's and was highly respected in the town and school, he was able to take some steps in this direction. Among the changes were a "free-time contract system" for high school students, mini courses in the high school, including such non-traditional subjects as Indian history in northern New

England State and psychology, and changes in the grading system and report card format in the elementary school. In addition, the school was also in the process of trying to develop integrated and sequential mathematics and a language arts program. These changes required a sizeable turnover of staff, including the resignation of a number of older teachers. In one year 12 teachers left the school, more than half the faculty. The principal recruited a number of teachers he thought more effective and in tune with his aims.

In Riverton, the School Board has not been as involved in the daily operation of the school as in Paperville. Townspeople do not appear to have been involved very much in school activities either. Though the principal claimed a desire to decrease distance between the school and the community, he recognized that the community might not approve of some of the changes he was trying to bring about in the school, especially his easing of discipline and the creation of the contract system. His assistant principal was able to argue the school's case in town with some success. The school board generally went along with the changes the principal desired, although some members questioned some of the changes made. Like the situation in Paperville, relations between the superintendent and principal were good, and the superintendent allowed the principal to run the school as he wished.

SUMMARY

North Country Union has remained a loosely tied administrative entity. Its three school districts, while facing similar problems involving state regulations, insufficient funds, and community apathy, have continued to resist efforts to collaborate on problem solving. When community interest has been aroused, it has been in response to key issues or complaints, and the schools and school personnel are generally perceived to be directly responsible for those problems. Typically, even the very recent attempts to make the schools more responsive to community sentiment and needs have been organized and dealt with at the school or district level. Thus, the concept of comprehensive union-level change has remained alien and somewhat suspect to people in North Country Union.

SECTION III: THE EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS PROJECT

CHAPTER FIVE: THE PLANNING YEAR

Virtually everyone involved in the North Country ES project--local administrators, Washington officials, teachers, and board members--felt that the planning year was not very successful. This section relates the events of the planning year, highlighting the major themes and problems encountered by project personnel.

FIRST ENCOUNTERS WITH ES/WASHINGTON

Around the middle of March, 1972, the Superintendent of schools in North Country Union received a brochure from the U.S. Office of Education in Washington detailing the nature and purposes of the Experimental Schools program. It announced a nationwide "competition for small rural schools" and invited interested people to enter the competition. The brochure, dated March 10, indicated that, under the Experimental Schools program, the Office of Education would provide funds to small rural school districts that were willing to "test new ideas for education improvement" developed in and for a small rural school setting. Among the stipulations of the program were: 1) that school systems, as opposed to single schools, apply; 2) that the proposed changes be comprehensive, that is, that they involve "all the significant elements of a school program;" 3) that Experimental Schools funds supplement, not replace, local funds, that is, that Experimental Schools funds not support activities "normally considered part of regular operating funds;" and 4) that the local school system evaluate and document its project in terms of the project's purposes and goals. People interested in applying for funds were directed to send five copies of a short (not more than 15 pages) "letter of interest" to Washington by April 10, 1972. The "letter of interest" was to follow the format outlined in the announcement.

As is customary, the Superintendent of North Country Union circulated copies of the brochure to the principals of the various schools in the Union. The brochure found a receptive reader in North Riverton at the Riverton School because, a short time after receiving

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the copy (March 29 to be exact), the principal of Riverton School responded with a letter indicating a desire to compete for the Experimental Schools funds. The letter began by noting that until the current principal came to Riverton School, there had been little educational change at the school in the previous 30 years. It then described some of the changes that had occurred since the principal's arrival at the school:

> Recently, a number of changes have occured, most of which could be classified generally as being aimed at making the educational experiences offered to students by the [Riverton] School District more meaningful to the people of the area and more individually relevant: These changes have involved "non-grading" of previously "graded" subjects (i.e., English, which was previously attended by all students in one class--and a separate class for each year of school.); the addition of quarter, semester and mini courses relative to pupil interest, in the secondary school, as well as starting continuous progress programs and eliminating the grading system (A,B,C,D) from the first three years of elementary school. We have also begun using "Contingency Contracting" with our secondary school students, hoping to bring about a more resonsible attitude towards learning in them.

It went on:

> The aforementioned changes may not appear as being of tremendous significance when compared to what is being accomplished by our larger "sister" institutions; however, one should keep in mind the conservatism of the area where this school is located and visualize these changes as taking small, but marked steps away from the highly traditionalistic approaches which, for the most part, dominate schools of the "North Country" of New England.

The letter than briefly described what the principal conceded in private was the real impetus for entering the competition. During the academic year 1971-1972 the staff at Riverton School attended a 20-hour staff training course taught by the principal and approved by the New England State Department of Education for two academic credits. The focus of the course was problem solving and it was designed to gain commitment from the staff to the goals of the school. This course had several related sources. The previous year, 1970-1971, the staff and principal of the school had tried to do curriculum work in language arts but did not have much success because, according to the principal, of staff resistance to the directions in which the principal wanted to move. As a result he decided that, before tackling curriculum and program development in his school, his staff needed work in communication and problem-solving skills. During the summer of 1971, the principal and a key staff member participated in activities of an organization in the area devoted to in-service training for educators. It was there that the principal developed the skills for leading the course in problem solving.

The course ran for half the school year. During the course, the staff developed the idea that Riverton School should become an integreated school. In the letter of intent an integrated school was defined as follows:

> An integrated school is a school which possesses an integrated program grades one through twelve, which is based upon behavioral objectives, via a sequential development entailing the eliminating of grade structure and allowing each student to progress at his, or her, own rate in each subject matter area throughout all levels, utilizing the specialized talents of each faculty member and/or students and non-professional personnel and local resources which would complement the professional staff.

According to the principal, the staff began to sense the need for funding from one source or another to further development of the "integrated school." The money would be used to support teachers over the summer as they worked on developing the integrated school concept and for consultants who would be hired during the summer and during the next academic school year. The principal told his staff that he would try to locate some sources of funds for their work. While in the process of searching for sources of funds to carry on the work he and his staff had begun, he received the letter announcing the Experimental Schools program from his superintendent. Seeing this as a possible source of funds for his staff, he applied.

As stated in the letter of interest, moneys from the Experimental Schools program would allow for continued development of the ideas his staff had come up with. He predicted that within five years his staff would develop and implement a program which would produce a:

> "Model school" for learners between the ages of five and twenty years in which the following would exist: 1. All learning situations are relevant to the individual learner; 2. All learning situations are relative to the area; 3. The program is totally achievement based; 4. The program will call for the responsible commitment of the learners, the community, and the school staff; 5. The school will become a producer of renewing agents for the community (long range).

The letter also contained two other sections of interest. One was a listing of weaknesses of the current program. The following were presented, in order of importance:

A. Indifferent, apathetic community
B. Economic resources of the community extremely limited
C. Need for a broader based program
D. Vocational training needs of pupils not being met
E. Need for more personal, individual counseling
F. Need for cultural enrichment and awareness programs
G. Need for summer and vacation planning for staff
H. Need for better psychological services

It then discussed how the program would be changed to overcome the weaknesses. A number of changes in the organization of the school were envisaged. The grade structure was to be eliminated eventually; decisions about program priorities would be made "through a team approach;" the school would become a "center" for community organization, renewal, and development; and there would be a heavy emphasis on vocational programs using community work-sites. This section of the letter also dealt with staff training. It stated rather proudly that it had already begun at the school and would involve "staff to train staff." Community involvement would occur through the creation of an advisory curriculum committee which would assist the staff in creating the program and in disseminating information about the program throughout the community. The community would also be involved in the work-site vocational program.

Before applying for the Experimental Schools program, the principal of Riverton School notified the superintendent of his intention to do so. The application was only for Riverton School District, even though the principal admitted that he did not think the people in Washington would allow only this district to participate in the program. Though no figures were mentioned in the letter regarding the amount of money desired, the principal later indicated that he was thinking of several thousand dollars, perhaps as much as $6,000 to finance the activities he had in mind.

On June 29, 1972, North Country School Union was notified that it had received a one-year planning grant. Washington initiated several contacts with the superintendent and the principal of Riverton School. Washington's chief concern was the participation of the other districts in the Union--Washington wanted all three districts in the Union to participate in the program.

The superintendent was unwilling and legally unable to commit any districts to the program. First of all, participation by any school district in the program had to be approved by each of the local school boards. This decision could not be made until the next round of board meetings. Second, no one at the local level knew very much, other than what they read in the brochure, about the Experimental Schools program. According to the superintendent, both he and school board members were very leery about participating in any federal programs because of some unhappy experiences with federal programs in the past. Title III programs in particular were singled out as embodying all of the difficulties inherent in doing business with the federal government. Title III programs infused large sums of money into local districts for short periods of time and then left the districts with the choice of either assuming additional expense to support the program or of abandoning the program altogether--an unpleasant choice in the case of worthwhile programs.

Further, such federal programs involved an inordinate amount of "red tape" and seemingly senseless guidelines that had to be met in order to qualify for or sustain funding. All of these factors made local people reluctant to rush into participation in another federal program.

A possible means of satisfying Washington's desire for participation from the other districts was put forth by the principal of Riverton School after meeting with the superintendent, in a letter to his ES site monitor from the Experimental Schools office on June 12, 1972. The principal wrote:

> After having discussed the matter of greater involvement of staff from the entire supervisory union with my superintendent, it has been agreed that two staff members from two schools in the supervisory union (Paperville Elementary School and Paperville High School) will participate as members of the curriculum planning committee for this school. Both direct and 'spin off' benefits to their institutions from this action can be foreseen in the future, although no immediate commitment can be made by these schools at this time.

This letter clearly implied a weak commitment on the part of the Paperville schools. Representatives from these schools were to observe and participate in curriculum planning for Riverton School. There was no guarantee that any change or improvement would occur in Paperville schools. Further, Woodington School is not even mentioned as a limited participant in the process.

Such an arrangement was not acceptable to Washington. Part of the difficulty between Washington and the local level, according to the superintendent and others in the Union, was that Washington did not understand that a supervisory union consisted of autonomous school districts sharing a superintendent, a central office staff and some services. Legal responsibility for the school districts resided with three independent school boards, each of which would have to approve participation in the Experimental Schools program.

In the meantime, the Riverton principal had done some preliminary work with regard to possible activities for the planning year and had come up with a tenative plan. This was done in response to Washington's desire for some information on the proposed activities of the planning year.

The principal's plan called for the creation of two committees "to insure representation by all groups in the geographic area." One committee, the Curriculum Committee, was to have been composed of five teachers, two parents, one student, and two "other" educators (from Paperville). The second committee, the Advisory Committee, was to have been composed of two parents, two students, one businessman, two school committee persons, two non-parents, one selectman, three representatives from tuition communities (Slaterville, Bloomington and Lordship) and two teachers.

The plan designated five phases of activity. The first, to occur during July, involved creating the two committees. Phase II, occurring in August, involved using an outside consultant to work with the committees to increase their problem solving, decision-making, and communication skills. Follow-up sessions devoted to training in these areas were tentatively scheduled for October and December, 1972 and January and May, 1973.

In Phase III (August through October), the Curriculum Committee would assess "all facets of the school and of the local area." The results of such an assessment would be used to establish priorities for the curriculum work: "priorities would be determined by the curriculum committee with strong inputs from the advisory committee."

Phase IV, occurring in November and December, 1972, and January, 1973, involved developing alternative means of achieving the goals and objectives implied by the priorities and selecting those most appropriate to the local situation. The principal anticipated:

> ...that many of the alternatives developed and selected would most likely evolve toward programs for establishing more comprehensive, coordinated communicative skills and mathematics programs in the general curriculum (K-12) of this institution. We would also expect that programs for career education in grades 1-12 and worksite co-op programs would also be prime areas for development.

Phase V, extending from February to September, 1973, would concern itself first with research and development of responsible programs as indicated by the work completed in Phase IV. A two-week "in-depth" planning session would be devoted to this. The rest of the time would be devoted to developing plans for implementation of the programs in September of 1973.

Washington's response to the limited participation of the Paperville representatives was negative, and they pushed for more participation by the other districts in the Union before funds for the planning year would be granted. The Superintendent responded that full and equal participation by the other unions could be worked out. This softening of attitude was due primarily to the fact that the grant was only for one year and did not commit any of the districts to participation for longer periods of time should Washington be willing to fund any proposal that came out of the planning year. The attitude was "We'll see what it's all about" during the planning year.

On June 29, the Superintendent received the following telegram from the Director of the Experimental Schools program, U.S. Office of Education:

> We are pleased to inform you that [North Country Supervisory Union] has been designated to receive a one-year planning grant of $46,500.00 as a result of the recent Experimental Schools Competition for Small Schools in Rural Areas. The planning grant is for the purpose of further developing the ideas described in your original letter of interest with the strong possibility, after submission of a final plan, February 1973 of operational funding as an experimental schools site. A letter with more specific information follows shortly.

Within the next several days the Superintendent received several letters from Washington. One, dated June 30, was the letter to which the Director referred in the telegram. This letter indicated that 12 rural sites had received funding. Six of the sites received funding for the actual implementation of plans and programs while six others, including North Country Union, received grants for a year of planning and development which would give these sites "the opportunity to explore in greater details (sic) the plans for comprehensive change without endangering the success of such an endeavor by requiring the project to be prematurely operational."

The Director's letter also said that his office was planning a meeting in Washington within the next 30 days to address any questions that the Superintendent might have about Experimental Schools. Further details with regard to the time, place and other arrangements of the meeting were promised in the near future.

Shortly after receipt of this letter, the Superintendent received a letter from the project monitor in Washington, dated July 7, which gave more details of the upcoming meeting in Washington. It was made clear in the letter that Washington contacted the local sites to make sure the meeting date was acceptable to them all. July 17 was the date set for the meeting. Included in the letter was a list of other sites and superintendents receiving planning grants. It is possible, though the Superintendent is uncertain of this, that a copy of the planning budget and "Scope-of-Work" for North Country Union was included with the July 7 letter.

The Scope-of-Work indicated the general nature of the requirements for the planning grant. It specified short reports on September 15 and December 15 outlining progress and problems, and a proposal by February 15, 1973. The budget (Table 8), specified how the $46,500 could be spent.

Upon receipt of the telegram announcing the planning grant, the Superintendent called the principal of Riverton School to tell him of the award. The Superintendent said that he told the principal of the award and then asked him to guess its amount. The principal indicated about $10,000. Naturally he was surprised, as had been the Superintendent, when he found out the amount of the grant.

The size of the award created a minor problem for the Superintendent. The budget indicated that the director of the planning year could have received as much as $15,000 a year. This was only $1,000 less than the Superintendent's salary at the time and significantly more than the principals or elementary consultant were then receiving. The proposed salary for the secretary/bookkeeper was also much higher than what school secretaries were receiving. The Superintendent's main concern was that these high salaries would upset school board members, though

TABLE 8

BUDGET AND EXPENDITURES FOR PLANNING YEAR

	BUDGET	EXPENDITURE
Director: Planning, Organization and Administration	$ 15,000	$ 6,638.99
Secretary/Bookeeper (12 months)	5,500	1,782.04
Office Equipment & Supplies (including space)	2,000	1,896.20
Teaching Faculty: Released Time	6,250	2,747.36
Citizen Participation	1,250	846.20
Consultants	2,000	1,035.00
Travel: District Representatives Home, Washington & Return	2,200	2,111.02
Site Visitations by Community Teams	4,000	-0-
Evaluation	7,500	6,095.19
Telephone	800	439.65
	$ 46,500	$23,591.65

he said that in the case of the director that amount of money would probably be required to hire the type of person needed to get the job done. He called Washington to see how much leeway the local people had in setting salaries. Washington's reply was that the local people had considerable leeway as long as they did not spend more than the $46,500 total and they could offer more than $15,000 for the director if they wanted. He told him that this concern was just the opposite--spending less than $15,000 for a director--and they indicated that that was fine too.

A SLOW BEGINNING

With the meeting in Washington on July 17 coming up, the Superintendent called a meeting with the principal of Riverton School and the elementary consultant to discuss any questions and concerns that they might want to have aired at the Washington meeting. A number of concerns were raised in their discussion:

1. What guidelines, limitations, requirements had to be met before the money could be used?
2. Did all districts in the union have to agree and do the same things in order to receive the money?
3. How much "red tape" and paper work would be involved for the districts, before, during and after the project?
4. "Is this another of those grants where you can do what you want as long as you do what the government agencies want you to do in they way they want it and at the time that they want it done?"
5. What would it cost when the federal dollars are gone?
6. What did the term "experimental" mean?
7. Did Washington really know or care about what a small rural district is or does?
8. Did the local boards have control of what was to take place in the districts?

All of the concerns indicated the low level of trust local people had of federal programs. One issue in particular seems to have concerned the members of this meeting: Would local autonomy be honored by this program?

On July 16, the Superintendent drove to Boston and flew from there to Washington to attend the meeting between superintendents of districts receiving planning grants and federal ES officers. His notes of the meeting indicate that a number of issues relating to the Experimental Schools program were discussed. Some issues were related to procedures, restrictions on the use of funds, and deadlines. According to these stipulations, Experimental Schools funds could not be used to fund things which were part of the normal operating budgets of the schools or districts; they could not be used for building construction, though some remodeling (limited to $10,000 per building) was allowable; and consultant's fees were limited to $100 per day. With regard to procedures and deadlines, any items costing more than $200 had to be justified at the local level and approved in Washington before being purchased; plans of the proposed program changes were due in Washington on February 15, 1973; short progress reports were due in Washington on September 15, 1972 and December 15, 1972; and, it was suggested that the proposed yearly budgets for the local projects not exceed 10 percent of the total school districts' yearly budgets.

Two representatives of ES/Washington explained the evaluation and documentation procedures of the program. "Level I" evaluation was designed to support the local project. Local people were to decide what evaluation should be done, how it was to be done, and what questions it should ask. One of the representatives was designated as the person to help local people with the evaluation and in setting up the documentation process of the planning year, which was to consist of a running narrative of the planning and decisions during the year. In line with these ends, plans were made for him to visit North Country Union on August 14 and 15.

Other aspects of the evaluation program were also explained. "Level II" involved the use of an outside contractor to study the local projects. Part of this evaluation would include having a person living in the local area to study and document the specific local project. "Level III" evaluation involved the evaluation of the entire Experimental Schools program.

The Superintendent's notes of the meeting indicate that the meaning of the term "comprehensive" was discussed at some length. From the discussion, the term appeared to have several implications for the local projects. First, the proposed educational changes had to be interrelated and include all parts of the school program. The curriculum, space utilization, in-service training, materials, etc. had to be related to each other in some coherent fashion with the aim of achieving certain desired educational outcomes. This included relating the specific changes and programs to all grade levels in the school system as well as to pre-school and adult education. Second, "comprehensive" implied broad community involvement in the planning and design of the programs at each site, involvement that cross cut the major status groups of the community and schools. Finally, the changes were to show an integral relationship to the particular sites and take advantage of the unique aspects of each of the sites, especially their economic and recreational aspects.

The Superintendent left Washington on the 17th and returned to New England State. On July 19th, he met with the elementary consultant and the principal of Riverton School to discuss the Washington meeting. The Superintendent's general reaction was that the meeting was an excellent one, and he regretted that additional personnel could not have been there. In particular, he noted that the Experimental Schools staff was interested in the quality and value of rural schools; that they were not interested in the consolidation of school districts or the establishment of cooperatives (a sore point in Paperville because of past state efforts to dissolve North Country Union); that they respected the autonomy of the individual school districts; that they were not interested in a lot of publicity or visiting committees which would be disruptive at the local level; that there were no "guidelines" that had to be met or followed and few restrictions on the planning of programs at the local level; that, difficult though it may have been to believe, much of the "red tape" usually associated with federal projects had been eliminated; that the term "experimental" only meant something new to the local setting, not radical or innovative; and finally, that the major requirement for any plan's being accepted for further funding was that it be comprehensive.

This meeting led to a discussion of the next steps to be taken at the local level. Four steps were identified. First, all the available information on the program was to be presented to each of the district school boards with the recommendation that the boards support the program. Second, information that the project was looking for a director was to be disseminated. Third, a joint advisory committee for the union was to be set up. And fourth, plans had to be made for office space and operating procedures for the project.

The first task to be undertaken to start the project at the local level was presenting the project to the local school boards. The Experimental Schools program was presented to the school boards of Papertown, Woodington, and Riverton during the last two weeks of July. All of the boards voted unanimously to proceed with the project. Permission was given to hire personnel and form the Advisory Committee. Names of people who might serve on the Advisory Committee were solicited from the boards.

While all of the school boards voted unanimously to begin the project, there is some indication that the Papertown board was a little more chary of the idea than others. One person said that they had to be convinced to participate in it, and the running record of the planning year indicated that the Papertown board explicitly wanted to be kept informed of the progress of the project and would have final say in approving or rejecting the final plans that were to be submitted to Washington.

On July 21 the Superintendent met with the Director of North Country Education Services, a Title III shared services project serving a number of supervisory unions in northern New England State. They discussed the grant, and the Director gave the Superintendent the names of several people who might be interested in and qualified for the directorship.

The obvious choice for director, of course, was the principal of Riverton School. The Superintendent had discussed this with him, but the principal did not want the position. He said that he refused the position for two reasons. One was that he was thinking of leaving the area and thus could not commit five years to the project. The other reason was his belief that he could have more impact on students and education in Riverton as principal than as project director.

Almost two weeks later, on August 2, the Superintendent, elementary consultant, and principals of Riverton School and Paperville High School met to discuss the formation of the advisory or steering committee for the project.

Twenty-one names were suggested, representing teachers, administrators, students, and community members. The representatives from Riverton included: the principal, three teachers, a student, and two townspeople. Paperville's nominations included: the principals of the high school and elementary school, three teachers, two from the high school and one from the elementary school, a student, two townspeople, and one board member. Three people were chosen from Woodington: a teacher, townsperson, and a school board member. The Superintendent and elementary consultant represented the Union on the committee.

The people nominated for the committee were nominated for a number of reasons. Some business teachers and English teachers were chosen because their subject matters were integral to the project. Others were chosen because of the influential positions they occupied. Principals, school board members, and the Superintendent and the elementary consultant were included because they would have to approve the program before it could come into existence. Community members were chosen because of their standing in the community or past participation in school affairs.

Plans for a training workshop for the committee (as indicated in the tentative plan for the planning year), as well as where the Experimental Schools staff would be located, were also discussed. Regarding the latter, a decision was made to house the staff of the project in the Riverton Hollow School, primarily because this was the only space that was available in the Union.

Several days later, on August 8, the superintendent's office sent invitations to attend an information meeting about the Experimental Schools project to the group of people selected at the earlier meeting of the principals and Superintendent. The meeting was scheduled for September 15, after the opening of school. The Superintendent also made preparations for the visit on August 21 of the consultant to ES/Washington who was to assist in the evaluation.

On August 16, the Superintendent sent notices of the opening for a director of the project to the New England State Employment Security Office, and to several state colleges in New England State and neighboring states.

The ES/Washington consultant arrived at the superintendent's office in Paperville on the 21st. The superintendent told him of the progress of the project to that point and after a brief meeting, he took him to see the schools in the Union and to talk with the principals.

The next day the consultant met with the Superintendent and the principals of Riverton School and Paperville High School to discuss the project. A number of topics were discussed, the main ones being the meanings of the terms "comprehensive" and "evaluation", which apparently were causing some confusion at the other sites. The consultant said that comprehensive meant: 1) that the various parts of the program (teacher training, space utilization, equipment, etc.) had to be interconnected and interrelated in the project; 2) that program planning should be on a K-12 basis; 3) that all segments of the community and schools should participate in the planning and formulation of the program; 4) that planning for the Experimental Schools project should be integrated with other planning that is occurring in the school systems; and 5) that the local project should be linked with the local area, especially with regard to the utilization of various local resources, human and natural, for educational purposes.

Also outlined were the various dimensions of the evaluation of the Experimental Schools project that should occur. Level I evaluation was to be carried out by the local project and had two facets. One facet was intended to answer the question: did the local project accomplish the objectives it was intended to accomplish? This evaluation was to be used as an aid to the local program, and its design and implementation had to be planned during the planning year. The second facet of Level I evaluation concerned documentation of the planning year, which also was a responsibility of the local project. Documentation was to be a running account of what occurred in the community and schools during the planning year. It would try to answer the following questions with regard to planning year activities:

- Who was there?
- Whom did they represent?
- What was the agenda?
- What issues arose?
- What was said?
- What was meant?
- What consensus was reached?
- What action followed as a result?

Level II evaluation involved an outside group, contracted by the U.S. Office of Education to study the local Experimental Schools project and to ask what could be learned from the experiences of rural schools as they undertook to change themselves.

Level III evaluation was to be an evaluation of the entire Experimental Schools program, attempting to determine what the program had accomplished and if the accomplishments were worth the effort. This also was to be done by a group outside of the federal government.

The concern with evaluation was, according to the consultant, related to the overall objective of the Experimental Schools program: to add to knowledge about educational change.

Activity relating to the Experimental Schools project temporarily ceased after this visit as school and Union personnel prepared for the opening of school in September. On September 15, after the turmoil of the opening of school had subsided, the advisory or steering committee for the project met at Paperville High School. Fourteen of the original 21 people selected for the committee attended. Absent were one person each from Woodington and Riverton (both townspeople), four from Paperville (a teacher, student, board member, and townsperson), and the elementary consultant from the Superivsory Union office. Three types of business were transacted at the meeting. First, people were told in general terms about the Experimental Schools project. They were presented with a brief history of the project, a description of the other school districts participating in the project across the country, a reassurance that the term "experimental" did not mean that local children were to be experimented on in any way, and information that the project would last five years, that the maximum amount of funds the Union could expect to receive would not exeed 10% of the annual operating costs of the three school districts combined, and that there were very few guidelines for the project from Washington.

Second, the requirements the project would have to meet were outlined. One requirement was that the project include the entire supervisory union. Each school district did not have to design a program that was identical to the others, however. There could be variation among the schools with respect to the programs they decided to implement. Another requirement was that the final proposal had to be considered during the planning year. This meant that the local project had to be designed in such a way that the

the local districts could and would be able to carry on programs and activities established with Experimental Schools funds. Finally, notes of this meeting indicate that "there was no need for the Union to be a showcase for other schools or Unions in the state; unwanted visitors and publicity would not be a problem."

The third item of business for this meeting was that of outlining the role of the advisory or steering committee. The committee was to be a union-wide committee; each district would not have its own committee. This did not preclude ad hoc district committees set up at the discretion of the director. The committee was to serve in an advisory capacity to the director whom it would hire. The Superintendent would screen candidates and present three or four suitable ones from which the committee could choose. The committee's role did not include the disposition of funds or approval of activities to be carried out by the project. These functions would reside with the local and separate school boards.

On the same day the first progress report to Washington was sent in, following a general format outlined by their project monitor in a letter to the superintendent. It noted the activities engaged in thus far (advisory committee created, teachers and school boards informed of the project, the consultant's visit, and the search for a director), a tentative schedule for events of the fall semester, and the problems faced thus far. With respect to the last topic, the major problem up to that point had been "to get the director on the job to devote full time to really make any kind of progress" and the fact that it was difficult to get started during the summer when people were not available to work and plan.

A week later, on September 21, the Experimental Schools Advisory Committee met at Paperville High School to interview candidates for the position of Project Director. Fourteen people were in attendance: six from Riverton (principal, three teachers, one student and one townsperson); one, a teacher from Woodington, and five from Paperville (high school principal, two teachers, and two school board members) and the Superintendent and elementary consultant. The list of those in attendance indicates that the committee had been expanded since it was first formed. This was done because people felt a need to increase community participation on the committee, especially of school board members.

Only three people applied for the position of Project Director. All held masters' degrees and had some experience working with federal projects. One person withdrew his name. Of the remaining two, one was the guidance counselor at Riverton School. He had previously been coordinator for the Union of a Title III project dealing with handicapped children. For part of the previous academic year he had been in Alaska on a Ford Foundation fellowship studying staff development programs. He returned to North County Union in the summer and had run across a teacher from Riverton School in the parking lot of a local grocery store. This person told him about receiving the grant and said that the principal from Riverton School did not want the position of director because he, the principal, could not get along with the Superintendent and elementary consultant. He suggested that the guidance counselor look into the position. Though not terribly interested, he went to talk with the Superintendent. According to him, the Superintendent said that the project would deal mainly with staff development (the subject of his fellowship) and vocational education (an interest of his), and suggested that it would be a way for him to stay in the area when his fellowship expired. The guidance counselor decided to apply, though not with a great deal of enthusiasm. As he said: "I went into ES not giving a damn after the Alaska experience."

The committee chose the guidance counselor for position of Project Director. The vote was 12 to 4 in his favor. Some of the negative votes came from people who had had negative experiences with him in Riverton. One person thought that the other applicant was more qualified. Thus, three months after receiving notification of the award, the ES project had a director under whom it began its planning year.

THE PLANNING YEAR BEGINS

According to the tentative calendar of activities for the planning year which had been submitted by the principal of Riverton School, the project should already have had a training workshop for the Planning Committee and been will along with its Needs Assessment by the time the director was finally appointed. Instead, for all intents and purposes, the project had yet to begin. Time was running short. The formal project plan was due in Washington on February 15. This meant the project had to come up with an acceptable proposal outlining the programs and activities of the next five years in five months instead of in seven months.

A number of obstacles lay in the path of this goal. One was the fact that union-wide planning had never occurred in North Country Union on any scale prior to the Experimental Schools project. As the assistant superintendent of schools (the former elementary consultant) said, "People feel there is little value in doing [common planning] and there is little evidence to suggest that it has been worthwhile when attempted." Contact among school personnel from the various districts was infrequent and largely confined to socializing. There also was a certain amount of rivalry and envy among the districts. To the irritation of teachers in Riverton and Woodington, Paperville's teachers appeared to be much better off than they were. Not only did Paperville have more in the way of materials and programs than did Woodington or Riverton, but, with the superintendent's office located in Paperville, Paperville also seemed to receive more services from the superintendent's office than did the other two districts. Lacking a tradition of contact and cooperation among the districts certainly would not make the activities of the planning year any easier.

Large-scale planning committees, composed of school personnel and laymen, were also new to the union. Defining the role, duties, responsibilities, and powers of the committee and director involved moving into uncharted waters and would certainly take time which, as was noted above, was short. Defining roles and responsibilities, essentially the problem of leadership and direction for the committee, was exacerbated by the presence on the committee of the Riverton principal, the project's originator. He founded the project, was the director's former superior, many people's first choice for director, and a forceful person with definite ideas about the project. He had a strong following, both in his school and among a number of committee members, especially those suggested by him for membership. He was primus inter pares and someone the director would have to reach compromise with if he was to exert leadership in the committee.

The Superintendent was also on the committee and, by virtue of his office, was a powerful person. However, he felt obligated by the spirit of the grant not to assume leadership of the committee and to let it function as it chose. he said, "My feeling was that [the committee] was supposed...to give [the committee members] a chance to come up with something that was theirs." For the most part, people said that the Superintendent acted in accord with this statement, though he did on one occasion tell the director to take a more active position with the committee and to make decisions himself instead of waiting for the committee to make decisions.

Finally, the project originated in one school district, Riverton, and the two other school districts were brought into the project at Washington's insistence. People from these other districts were not as enthusiastic or as convinced of the need for the project as were people in Riverton. Furthermore, the initial work done by Riverton School and its principal set the major directions for the project even before the other districts became involved. This meant that one job facing the director and those committed to the project was to convince other members of the Planning Committee and teachers in the various schools of the importance and value of the project. Their success in achieving this was less than complete. One person said that people in Paperville always thought of the project as being Riverton's project. Another said that the groundwork for the project was never laid in Paperville High School.

It was in this context that the director, new to both this job and this type of committee work, began. His first and easiest task involved setting up an office, ordering the equipment, and hiring a secretary. His next activities involved implementing the Needs Assessment and setting up the training workshop for the planning committee, both of which were called for in the calendar of planning year activities that had been sent to Washington in June.

With regard to the Needs Assessment, the director contacted a social science consulting firm located in the southern part of New England State that the superintendent had recommended. This firm had done some work elsewhere in New England State evaluating Title III programs. The director and the elementary consultant met with a representative of the firm on September 29th to discuss the types and costs of services the firm had to offer the project. The director outlined briefly the nature of the project and the timelines under which it was operating. He then indicated that the project wanted information from community members, students, and teachers about the schools and programs that were needed in the schools. He also wanted information about socioeconomic conditions in the three towns of the district. The representative indicated that his firm had questionnaires available that would provide the type of information wanted. He indicated that these questionnaires could be adapted to the local situation. The director also asked if the project could receive help in developing its proposal for Washington. The representative said that his firm could provide that assistance and that the Needs Assessment would be a good starting point. When asked about costs, the representative said that the activities they had been talking about would cost the project between $8,000 and $12,000. Operating on the Superintendent's suggestion that the project not spend more than $6,000, the terms were negotiated and agreed upon--the Needs Assessment and assistance in the proposal writing were contracted for $5,999.73.

During this period the director also set up the training session for the planning committee. He contacted an individual from Massachusetts whom the principal of Riverton School had recommended. The training session occurred during the week of October 10th and lasted four days. It was designed to increase the effectiveness of the planning committee as a group and to raise some key issues for consideration by the committee, some of which would have to be resolved before much progress could be made, and others of which the committee would continually have to confront. The first day 19 people attended the meeting, devoted to some exercises designed to put the participants at ease with each other and to increase interaction among committee members. The trainer also stressed the importance of people's being open to questioning their educational preconceptions and of developing an explicit educational philosophy to guide them in writing the proposal and formulating the project.

Twenty-two people attended the second training session. The planning committee discussed the issues of governance and membership. With respect to the latter, the committee agreed that it was important to extend invitations to school board members to join the committee and participate in its deliberations in order to secure their support for the activities and decisions of the committee, since the local school boards eventually would have to approve the program. At the same time, people felt that people's status outside the committee (e.g., school board member) should not give extra weight to people's opinions on matters under consideration by the committee.

Regarding governance, no final decisions were made at the meeting of the planning committee. It was initially suggested that the planning committee should:

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1. Call the meetings and work in an advisory capacity;
2. Advise the director;
3. Stress public relations and pass on information to other groups in the schools and community;
4. Bring in community opinions and suggestions to the director;
5. Make plans for the organization and development of the program;
6. Be prepared to present alternative ideas in case they are needed.

The director's activities would include organizing the Needs Assessment; preparing the budget and work plans; scheduling meetings; and, drawing upon the list of needs, creating the plans for use by the schools. This tentative assignment of duties to the committee and director clearly placed the burden of responsibility for developing the proposal and programs on the project director. The committee's functions were primarily to advise the director and to act as a liaison with the communities and schools. The director, however, wished that responsibility for important decisions be devided between himself and the committee. He was reluctant to accept all the responsibility the committee wanted to delegate to him.

An attempt was made to resolve these differences. After some more discussion, the group tentatively agreed that the director should have the power and responsibility to:

1. Initiate plans;
2. Present ideas;
3. Act on suggestions which will be reacted upon and voted by the planning committee;
4. Carry out and implement programs which have been acted upon.

The planning committee was to be responsible for deciding upon programs for the project. This resolution eased some of the responsibility of the director for making plans and programs for the schools. Final resolution of these issues on paper would have to wait until a meeting of an ad hoc credentials committee consisting of a teacher from Paperville High School and the principal of Riverton School.

On the third day of the training session, 23 members of the committee discussed educational priorities of the schools and communities. Already one new member from the Paperville School Board had been added to the committee. One subgroup of the committee listed nine basic categories of concern for the schools and project. These were:

1. Meeting individual student needs with:
    - a. Increased vocational offerings;
    - b. Development of athletics in the schools and athletic abilities among students;
    - c. Development of self-confidence among students;
    - d. Equal treatment of teachers and students.
2. Community involvement in the schools.
3. Utilization of the physical environment of the communities.
4. Development of student's own values.
5. Development of a questioning attitude among students.
6. Development of student self-government.
7. Creation of a non-competitive atmosphere among students.
8. Travel for experience for students.
9. Creation of non-hostile interaction among students.

Another subgroup listed the following priorities:

1. To provide for the needs of students;
2. Provide opportunities for cultural enrichment for students;
3. Provide individual guidance for students;
4. Provide "second chances" for students who have left school.

At this early stage in the project the planning committee began listing its priorities. The trainer pointed out to the group that in so doing they had already begun to create the program. What is interesting is that this was being done in advance of preparation of the Needs Assessment and without the benefit of the data it could bring to bear on conditions in the schools and in the communities.

On the final day only 10 people attended the training workshop. The main item of business discussed was the Needs Assessment. The director told the group about his meeting with the representative of the consulting firm. He said that the firm was preparing a questionnaire for the Union which the committee would examine and change, if necessary, to fit their specific needs. During this meeting the Planning committee decided that it wanted to know what programs existed in the schools, what services the schools were using in the community, the use made of schools after school and during evening hours, what happened on field trips, regulations followed in the schools, state educational requirements, etc. These were not the areas of interest the director mentioned to the representative from the research firm. This discrepancy between what the committee desired and what the research firm was going to produce set the stage for bad feelings that developed when the consultant from the research firm came to North Country Union to discuss his activities and the questionnaires that were to be used in the Needs Assessment.

The training workshop began, in a real sense, the planning year activities. The Planning Committee met and began working together. As a result of the workshop, the members of the committee felt that they were more able to work together as a group. They also had begun to deal with the procedural issues of governance and membership, as well as with some substantive issues, namely the content of the Needs Assessment and setting educational priorities.

Not all of the outcomes of the workshop were positive, however. Attendance on the final day of the workshop dropped dramatically from the attendance of the three previous days. Further, even on those days when a large number of people were present, some were merely dropping in and out of the meetings. The decline in attendance and the failure to stay for the duration of meetings were taken by those who attended and stayed through every meeting as indicating a lack of commitment on the part of some people. People who attended all the meetings claimed that the representatives from Paperville High School and the union office were the ones who were dropping in and out of the meetings. Interest and participation in the program were clearly dominated by the representatives from Riverton School.

Concern over attendance and membership led to the creation of the Credentials Committee that was mentioned above. This committee met shortly after the training session and redefined the criteria for voting, membership on the committee, and the functions of the director and committee. The functions of the director were:

1. To act as spokesman for the planning Committee;
2. To act as a liason between the planning committee and the Superintendent and the school boards;
3. To write the final proposal.

4. To organize task groups from the planning committee;
5. To maintain an office;
6. To formulate the budget subject to review and approval by the planning committee;
7. To coordinate the Needs Assessment study;
8. To present the project to community groups;
9. To act as liason between the planning committee and the staff development committee;
10. To carry out any actions necessary in planning and implementing programs the planning committee has developed.

The functions of the planning committee were:

1. To determine the educational priorities of the area based upon the Needs Assessment study and other pertinent data presented;
2. To gather and act on ideas from the communities which may relate to the project;
3. To act as an agent for the dissemination and collecting of information concerning the project and to develop program ideas for possible inclusion in the project.

The following membership policies were suggested:

1. If a committee member is negligent in attendance, the committee will vote as to the continuance of this membership.
2. If a person shows reasonable interest and involvement, he may apply to the committee for membership and the committee will vote.
3. The membership of the planning committee will be held to a 40 member limit.
4. Membership will be comprised so that equality of representation from all factors of the community at large is maintained.
5. Each member of the committee will have one vote. No write-in or proxy voting will be permitted.
6. The committee shall determine the direction of planning and project implementation and relate the same to the project director.
7. The director and planning committee shall remain in their present capacities till the duration of the project, with the hopes that such a committee could be continued even after federal funding has been exhausted.
8. There will be a chairman for the committee and it shall be the duty of this chairman to conduct planning committee meetings along the line of accepted rules of order, Roberts

> Rules of Order, to tabulate all voting, not losing his right to vote, to prepare agendas cooperatively with the project director in the absence of the director.

These policies were presented to the planning committee in November and accepted.

Comparing the three attempts to define the roles and responsibilities of the Planning Committee and the director, a clear progression is evident: the first attempt made the director chiefly responsible for formulating the programs for the schools; the second attempt led to a sharing of this responsibility between the director and the committee; and the final accepted "constitution" for the project placed responsibility for program planning and direction with the Planning Committee (Item 6). The director became an administrative assistant to the committee, one whose only duty other that facilitating the work of the committee was to write the final proposal. This division of powers was the one favored by the Riverton principal, who originated the project. The Superintendent and elementary consultant were less happy with this division of powers, especially as time went on and it became apparent that not much progress was being made on the proposal writing. They favored having the director make decisions and exert leadership, but the new division of powers effectively prevented this. Further, the director, while accepting this arrangement, felt that the principal of Riverton School was trying to run the project and prevent him from doing so. He felt that this was evident inthe training workshop and persisted throughout the project.

In the next few weeks little happened that was of importance to the project. A public relations subcommittee met and adopted a slogan, "Something Else," and a symbol, a pine tree, for the project. The symbol and slogan were accepted by the planning Committee, and brochures with these on them were printed and distributed to community members and in the schools. The Needs Assessment subcommittee also met and discussed how the questionnaires for the Needs Assessment were to be distributed. The project director also met with a union-wide staff development committee, organized by the elementary consultant, in order to prepare a state-mandated recertification plan for the union. The purpose of the meeting was to explore ways in which the Experimental Schools project might be able to help with staff development in the union. Nothing came of this, however, because the staff development committee never really functioned during this year.

The next full meeting of the planning committee occurred on October 25th. A consultant from the social science research firm which had been contracted to do the Needs Assessment came to meet with the committee. He brought copies of the questionnaires for the committee to examine. This meeting was disturbing to some of the committee members, largely because committee members thought that the questionnaires were being prepared especially for the schools of North Country Union. Instead, as one individual said: "The questionnaire was pretty much a standard one for a rural area. We expected it to be specifically targeted right to here." Another person present at the meeting added that a questionnaire prepared especially for North Country Union was the least that could have been expected given the large amount of money the firm was being paid. To add insult to injury, when committee members made suggestions or called for modifications of the questionnaire, the consultant told them that the questionnaires could not be changed. In discussing this with the committee, he claimed that the modifications suggested were essentially trivial. The one example he gave was a question asking about the vehicles a family owned. Some committee members said that the responses should include "snow machine" which he thought trivial and not worth changing.

The committee also discussed who would receive the questionnaires. The consultant had an elaborate sampling plan which would have involved about 300 student questionnaires, questionnaires to their families, and questionnaires for about 70 teachers. The principal of Riverton School, among others, argued that questionnaires should be administered to all students in the union because the schools were small. This substantially increased the number of questionnaires to be administered. Though the consultant argued against it, the decision was made to send questionnaires to all the students in the district. However, only a portion of the questionnaires would be tabulated initially for use by the planning committee.

Right after this meeting several people from Paperville High School stopped attending the meetings, allegedly because they thought that a "fast one" was being pulled on the committee by the survey consultant and because they did not see anything coming from the project which would help them in their classrooms.

In the next week the questionnaires were distributed to students, teachers, and community members. Questionnaires were collected from all the schools except Paperville High School, where the principal said the director neglected to pick them up. Some of the questionnaires were tabulated and presented to the Planning Committee on November 8th. The committee broke into groups by towns, the groups were assigned the task of examining the data and listing educational priorities and programs for inclusion in the project. These would be voted on by the whole committee at a later date.

On November 13th, the evaluation consultant from ES/Washington visited North Country Union to learn about the progress of the project. He discussed the Needs Assessment with the consultant from the firm that was carrying it out. He was especially concerned with the adequacy of the community response to the questionnaires. He also stressed the need for the project to develop a philosophy to guide its work. He asked if the letter of interest was still the "umbrella" that was guiding the project. The director reported that it was. The consultant also suggested that the director think both about including an "evaluator" in the final plan, as well as about how he was going to present the plan to Washington. It seems that the consultant was looking for evidence of coherence and comprehensiveness to the project, and, in suggesting the need for a "philosophy," was trying to get the project moving in this direction.

In fact, instead of cohering, it appeared as though the project was moving in the opposite direction. Each school and school district was busily pushing its own pet plans and ideas for programs. Riverton and Woodington were pushing for kindergartens; Riverton wanted to do some space renovations to increase library space; people from Paperville were pushing for a building trades program; the principal of Paperville Elementary School wanted curriculum workshops in the summer for teachers; people in Riverton were interested in creating an outdoor education laboratory.

Between the middle of November and the beginning of January when two representatives from ES/Washington visited North Country Union, the planning committee held several more meetings. The participants began to feel that not a great deal of progress in creating a program was being made. One person said that the group was "treading water". A number of people thought, in retrospect, that the group was too large and unwieldy to accomplish much. A common complaint was that the director did not provide much leadership although the group began to feel the need for leadership and decisions from him. Related to this complaint was the complaint that the director did not communicate well or frequently enough with members of the committee. One person said that he had too many other interests and commitments to devote himself full time to this job. Another said that he, the director, was spending too much time with the Needs Assessment which was not going well.

Another concern was that attendance at the meetings was dropping off. Several people said that only a small number of the total committee members were coming to meetings. Examination of the records of the meetings, however, does not bear this out. With two exceptions, between 17 and 20 people attended all the planning committee meetings. However, only 11 people attended a majority of the meetings. It appears that there was a small group of intensely committed people who attended almost every meeting, while a larger number of people attended meetings sporadically.

Related to the complaint about attendance was the concern that people from Paperville High School were not participating in the project and were openly hostile to it. The principal of Paperville High School was singled out for nonattendance, and the Superintendent of schools spoke to him about this. After being spoken to, he began attending more of the meetings.

Planning at this stage, while incomplete, included hiring the following people for the project: a director, a vocational education coordinator, a secretary, and a half-time aide for Woodington. Programs and activities included: building an outdoor education laboratory, mini-courses in the building trades, worksites for vocational students, curriculum workshops in vocational education, reading and language arts, and science and math. Other programs and services included adult education courses, psychological services for students, and cultural enrichment activities. Preliminary budgets were also prepared. With the exception of the fifth or phase-out year, all of the yearly budgets were between $70,000 and $80,000.

Early in January two representatives from ES/Washington visited the Union. They talked with people in the various schools and met with the planning committee. Some of the concerns and complaints people had about the project surfaced at this meeting. Additional concerns were raised about the high proportion of money in the proposed budgets that was going to be spent on salaries and teachers. Some of the proposed programs (e.g., cultural enrichment) were criticized as being frills. The members of the committee also talked about the various ideas and programs that they were considering.

Toward the end of the meeting, the two representatives from ES/Washington made some comments. They told the committee that it was important for the committee to consider how the various programs related to each other. They stressed the importance of developing a central theme and related various elements of the project to the central theme. This was an echo of earlier comments by the consultant from ES/Washington who visited the site on November 13th. The people from ES/Washington also told the committee that there were restrictions on the types of programs that the Experimental Schools project could provide the schools. The committee had to consider the most important needs of the schools and design programs to meet these needs. The central theme, derived from needs, should guide program design. Both representatives from ES/Washington spoke of the necessity of inter-relating the various programs so that the overall project would be truly comprehensive, and of involving more people, especially community people, in the planning of the project.

Washington's concerns about the project were put in writing in a letter to the superintendent dated January 15th. It said:

> We received your December Progress Report[4] as we indicated in a December letter. Our substantive review when coupled with my site visit and the interactions during the meetings, prompt the following issues that the staff of Experimental Schools feels deserves your immediate attention:
>
> 1. Central Theme. The statement of central theme as it stands is too general. The next step is to define the phrases of the statement and work through the implications. What is a "community school"? What "attitudes toward learning"? What "special talents"? How will you "foster attitudes"?
>
> 2. Goals. It is important to the process that the goals generated through the planning phase be carried forward into the final document. However, it may be important to

clarify the source of the goals and to distinguish between goals, methods and curriculum areas.

3. Community. It is necessary that the plan carry a precise definition of community. Do parents in Woodington constitute community in relation to Paperville High School? Do French-speaking people constitute an important segment of the community?

4. Staff. What consideration has been given to involvement and support from professional staff in order to fully implement the plan?

These concerns were quite general. They do indicate that Washington felt that the proposal was, at this point, not well thought out or developed, and that not much work had been done to involve the teachers in formulating and implementing the plans.

Local reaction to the visit and criticisms of ES/Washington personnel took several forms. One was irritation and hostility towards ES/Washington and its representatives. One person commented that he "felt I was being treated as a little kid. [The federal project officers] wouldn't listen to what we said. They came to this meeting and cut to pieces what the group had done." The director said: "We got the impression we were doing a pretty rotten job." Another reaction was befuddlement. The local people did not know how to respond to such general criticisms of their efforts. One individual more or less summed up this reaction when he said: "They [ES/Washington] did not give us much to go on," with their criticisms. According to the Superintendent, the local people made repeated attempts to get people from Washington to be more specific in their criticisms of the proposal but they could not get specific criticisms. Another person said that ES/Washington would not tell them "what was wrong" with their work, even when asked. This failure to get specific criticism led some local people to suspect that the people from Washington had not even bothered to read the materials that were sent to them.

Two days after the site visit, the planning committee met again. Only 12 people were present at the meeting. The atmosphere was one of crisis. Washington's criticisms had devastated the group and the Project Director personally. Something had to be done in order to get the proposal written. The consensus of those present was that the large group was an ineffective task force for writing the proposal. The principal of Riverton School came up with a plan to get the proposal written. He mentioned this plan to the principal of Paperville High School, who proposed it to the people present. It was for a small "core group" to be formed, with representatives from each school in the Union. These people would be freed from teaching duties to write the proposal. They would receive input from teachers in their respective buildings and incorporate this into the proposal. The proposal would then be presented to the larger planning committee for final approval before it was presented to the school boards and sent to Washington.

This suggestion was unanimously accepted. The core group was composed almost entirely of people present at this meeting: the director, a secondary and elementary teacher from Riverton, an elementary teacher from Paperville, a teacher and student from Paperville High School, and a teacher and school board member from Woodington. The last person had to withdraw from the core group because of illness.

The core group worked very hard for the next two weeks, working on the weekends as well as during the weekdays; they wrote the proposal. During this period, a dispute arose between the core group and the director. Members of the core group wanted to include everything in the proposal and let Washington cut what it did not want to fund. The director thought this strategy was inappropriate and after the core group refused to adopt his strategy, he stopped working with them.

The core group met with the staffs of the various schools to explain, get their ideas, and fill them in on the programs and activities that were being considered. At a meeting at Paperville High School some hostility towards the project was expressed. One person asked: "What if someone doesn't want to participate in ES?" A member of the core group replied: "Well, maybe you ought to look for a job elsewhere."

The interchange between a member of the core group and a teacher at Paperville High School, in addition to indicating the presence of negative feelings about the project, also symbolized the growing assertiveness of the core group. Working together for long periods of time under a great deal of pressure created both strong bonds among members of the core group and a strong sense of identification with their work and the project. In a real sense it became "their" project. A member of the core group brought the proposal to the Superintendent when it was completed. This was perceived as a breach of protocol--the principal of Riverton or the Project Director should have presented the proposal to the Superintendent. The core group also wanted to bring the proposal personally to Washington, thereby bypassing all of the local people, but did not. The board thanked the core group and the planning committee for their work.

Thus after many halting efforts the proposal was approved by the school board and finally sent to Washington. However, a number of problems would continue to plague the project. The assertiveness of the core group in January concerned the administrators in the Union. As a result, the core group and the planning committee were disbanded. One person commented that the reason they were dissolved was because the core group became "uppity and threatened the power of the principals and the Superintendent." Later, when the proposal was revised, the administrators made certain that they, the administrators, had all the power and authority over the project, not the teachers or the community members. And, when it came time to appoint teachers to project committees, a conscious effort was made to keep the most troublesome members of the core group off of any of the Experimental Schools committees.

THE INITIAL PROPOSAL

The proposal was a long document--126 pages with appendices and supporting materials--and followed the format designated by Washington. It began with a "central theme" which stated the overall aim of the project. The sub-goals consisted of a series of objectives, activities to meet these objectives, and questions to be answered in the evaluation of the particular sub-goal. The organization of the proposal was a means of demonstrating that the local plan was comprehensive, that is, it involved all the major elements of the school program in an interrelated and coherent fashion. A final section of the proposal described the governance of the project.

Central Theme

The "central theme" of the proposal was:

> To develop a community-centered school which fosters positive attitudes toward learning and provides the necessary skills for each individual to realize and reach his personal goals by utilizing the specialized talents of the total community as lifetime learning opportunities.
>
> A community-centered school is one which involves various components of the community (social, economic, vocational, and ethnic resources) in program development and future planning to include the natural and social environment as centers of learning.

The proposal stated that "each town group will retain its own autonomy and identity". At the same time, it said that, "we will build decision channels for inter-town communication and decision-making. We hope, in this manner to include the communities' interest and participation in the continuing activities within North Country Union". Thus there was a built-in assumption that there would be at least some degree of autonomy for the various school districts, some variability in the way schooling was organized. This assumption found expression later in the document where the impact of a given component on curriculum change was described.

While the central theme indicated a desire to involve the communities of North Country Union in program development and to include them as centers of learning, the descriptions of the communities contained in the document indicated a paucity of resources for, or interest in, the schools in the various communities:

> Paperville is not classified as being economically depressed, but the attitudes of the townspeople, isolation, and long cold winters add to a "mental depression". The members of the younger population have few interests and little motivation to pursue them. Isolation limits inter-town and inter-community relationships.[5]
>
> The school in Riverton offers limited cultural and recreational opportunities; the town does not offer many employment opportunities, services, cultural or recreational areas.
>
> Added to this, Riverton, due to its geographical location, is isolated. People maintain very few outside contacts, enthusiasm for travel is not common, media is limited. The townspeople

> can receive only one television station, few clear radio stations, and no local newspaper is published (The North Country Herald is the only major daily publication readily available). A lack of understanding of other people and areas, as well as a very narrow outlook on life results. Also, the winters are long and cold which, when coupled with the poor economic and social conditions of the area, can be very depressing.
>
> In general, the citizens have a poor view of themselves and their town. They feel that they can do little to improve their way of life. This results in an extremely low level of motivation in both parents and children. Consequently, they feel that their lives are meaningless and have no value.

Woodington

> The tax base in [Woodington] is very small; consequently, tax rates are high and officials have had a great deal of difficulty collecting them. Town services (road repair, plowing, etc.) are continued but on a very limited basis. An amount in excess of $5,000 is owed for tuition of high school students.
>
> Though the residents are friendly, there is little socializing; distance limits the amount of visiting possible.

If these descriptions of the communities were accurate, the apathy and depression of the inhabitants, brought about by the physical isolation and climate of the area, would make the creation of a community-centered school no easy task.

Goals

The proposal also contained three goals, based on the central theme. These were:

1. To utilize the *total community* in the learning process by involving all of its potential.
2. To develop a realistic attitude of acceptance among individuals toward themselves and others. This will result in more *meaningful relationships* with the larger community.
3. To eliminate the boundaries of age and area in order to create *lifetime learners*. Varied learning opportunities will not end upon leaving school but will continue to be offered to everyone. We will use the natural and social environment as a center of learning to supplement the physical school.

Justifications for each goal were presented, listing problems and needs in the schools and communities which accomplishment of the specific goals would alleviate. The justification of goal 1, "to utilize the total community in the learning process," stated:

> At present, the schools and respective communities are, for the most part, separate entities. Although there is some interaction, it is neither effectually directed nor consistently maintained. This is evident by the lack of relevance between what the individual learns in school and his later community involvement. The communities' lack of commitment is apparent: parental visitations to the schools represent a very small minority of the student population. Only a limited knowledge of school programs exists within and between communities. Likewise, very few teachers live in and are committed to the community in which they teach.
>
> Our towns conduct open school meetings during which residents have the opportunity to decide the school budget. However, these meetings are very sparsely attended; those who do not attend are from the older segment of the population who often do not have children enrolled in school programs. The majority of people who are involved in school affairs are those who are not products of their respective school systems. The others are apathetic about becoming directly involved in the schools as well as their functions. Many graduates, as well as dropouts, discontinue involvement in the schools upon leaving.

The justification of the second goal, to develop a realistic attitude among individuals of their worth, stated:

> Presently our aims are directed toward achievement in specific subject areas. Attitudes have been discussed but not focused on as school or union goals. In some students we note a lack of concern for any school-oriented activities as they now exist. The majority of the students have a poor view of themselves, limited ability to work as effective members of a group, and little desire to accomplish tasks independently. Most students seem to find the traditional school curriculum totally unrelated to future work and life styles. Consequently, few students seem able to evaluate their own abilities or to make meaningful decisions, in regard to their own education, and then responsibly follow through.
>
> Few students demonstrate enthusiasm for learning activities. Also, pride in accomplishment and workmanship is lacking. Parents and teachers note the difficulties which arise from behavioral problems: lack of motivation for learning; little initiative for accomplishing anything beyond bare minimum requirements; in some cases, a complete refusal to offer any input whatsoever; and, no interest in preparation for a meaningful life.

> Also, an astounding lack of common knowledge of current happening, local, state, or national, is prevalent. Few are informed or express interest in community functions. This may be a result of an indifference toward newspaper publications or a lack of initiative, but, in any case, relatively few are involved in community or social groups.

The third goal, to create lifetime learners, was justified as follows:

> School programs are not relevant to the needs of individuals as determined by the needs assessment survey done in North Country Union, November 1972; consequently, the desire to learn has been dampened. Also, adult courses presently being offered are not faithfully attended. However, a definite desire for relevant adult courses has been shown in creative areas such as ceramics, needlework, and gourmet cooking, which will be defined in the programs for adult education. There are limited cultural, academic, vocational, and recreational opportunities in this area. The number of extension courses offered by the State University is also limited. Woodington, in fact, provides no experience for children prior to first grade, and Riverton offers no Public Kindergarten.

The justifications of the three main goals of the project echoed the descriptions of the towns: the schools and communities were separate entities with little contact existing between them; few community members participated in school affairs; students were apathetic about learning and their communities and ignorant of current affairs; and the school curriculum, focusing on narrow academic interests, was largely irrelevant to the lives and futures of students. One important difference between the themes stated in the justifications and those stated in the descriptions of the social climates of the schools is that, while in the justifications the schools themselves are viewed as the cause of the apathy and indifference because of their "irrelevant" curriculum, in the descriptions of the communities the causes of apathy are the climate and physical isolation of the area.

The proposal then listed seven "sub-goals", each of which contributed in one way or another to accomplishing the three goals of the project. Each sub-goal was a component activity of the overall project.

Sub-goal 1: Curriculum Change: The purpose of curriculum change was "to develop a sequential, continuous and integrated curriculum that is relevant to learners' interests and needs and provides for pleasurable learning experiences." Such curriculum development would take place in all areas of the curriculum--language arts, the humanities, mathematics and physical science, career education, and outdoor education. The goals and objectives of each of these curriculum areas would be linked to those of the other curriculum areas. The means of achieving these objectives were formal workshops during the summers in which teachers would work with consultants in developing the curriculum. The participants in the summer workshops would be paid out of Experimental Schools funds. The other means was "informal" workshops occurring during the school year at the various schools in the union. Teachers would not be paid for these activities.

Sub-goal 2: Psychological Services: The purpose of sub-goal 2 was "to develop improved interpersonal relationships". This would occur either through hiring a school psychologist or contracting for the services of one from a regional mental health clinic. The function of the school psychologist was to "provide counseling services to students, teachers and parents, to aid in the planning of individualized student programs, to offer communications workshops for teachers and community members, to train aides in the elements of child development and teachers in the use and interpretation of psychological and educational tests, and to provide information regarding personal hygiene and explore opening youth centers in Paperville and Riverton".

Sub-goal 3: Adult Education: The aim of adult education was "to provide additional educational opportunities for those not attending school as well as those attending". It involved the creation of adult education courses in academic skill areas as well as in "special interest" areas such as gourmet cooking or ceramics. Under this sub-goal about 5 adult education courses would be offered; these would supplement the existing state-funded Adult Basic Education course which provided courses leading to a high school degree.

Sub-goal 4: Career and Vocational Information: The aim of this subgoal was "to integrate occupational information and skill development into the curriculum". It had two separate aspects to it: career education and vocational education. The aim of the career education facet was to institute a K-8 career education program. Emphasis in the primary and intermediate grades would be on acquainting students with the careers of their parents and those available in the local area. The upper intermediate level would continue the activities of the preceding levels and would offer students the opportunity to "plan and operate 'experimental jobs,' that is, mock banks, stores and stock sharing corporations." Career guidance would also begin at the upper intermediate level and would continue into high school. At the high school level mini-courses, quarter or half year courses, "in specific career, vocational, and social interest areas" would be offered. Adults would also be able to take these mini-courses and use the guidance services.

The vocational education facet would "stress the development of specific work-related skills by incorporating the present home economics, industrial arts, and business departments with wider vocational interests." A vocational education director would be hired to perform two main functions. One would be to set up mini-courses in specific vocational areas such as small engine repair, nursing, printing and reproduction, hair styling, etc. The other function would involve setting up a work-site program for high school students. The proposal stated:

> On-the-job training is the second stage of this program. In order to better prepare themselves for life vocations, students will learn specific job skills at designated sites. This phase of the vocational education program will be organized and supervised by the Vocational Education Coordinator.

Sub-goal 5: Resources: The purpose of this sub-goal was "to make available a variety of material and human resources to be shared by members of all three communities." As a result of this sub-goal a catalogue was to be created which identified all resources in the communities and the ways by which these resources could be used by school personnel and community members. Though work on the catalogue would begin immediately, completion would not occur until 1976. It would include information on teaching supplies in the various schools as well as community and business resources.

Sub-goal 6: Outdoor Education: The aim of outdoor education was for students "to become aware of and understand the potentials of the natural environment." This was to be accomplished by creating an Outdoor Education Center which would "provide an area in which the natural environment and its relationship to man can be studied." Because construction of such a site was seen to be "an expensive undertaking," attempts would be made to

> collect as much donated material and service as possible. For those materials and services which we must buy, a specific contract will be written. Labor will be provided by the vocational education department whenever possible.

Camping and hiking equipment were also needed for use at the site. This equipment would be made from kits "whenever possible" to keep expenses down.

Land for the site was donated to the project by the town of Riverton. The site was to be located in East Riverton. There was also the possibility of using Paperville Papers Co. land in the Rocky Stream area.

Student use of the site was to vary by grade level. Primary students

> will participate in day visitations to the area. Observation will be stressed in order to build a picture of the local environment. Local forest rangers, woodsmen, and game wardens will speak to the students to introduce them to outdoor career opportunities. Also emphasis will be placed on arts and crafts with natural media.

Day trips would also be stressed with the intermediate students, though there would also be "some overnight camping" for them as well. The activities would consist of observations and study of the natural and man-made environment. Local history and arts and crafts using natural media were also to be incorporated into the program at this level.

At the upper intermediate level, activities

> will include a number of overnight visits and trips. Emphasis will be placed on personal and interpersonal relationships to develop positive concepts and attitudes

> in the following areas: leadership development, group and individual problem-solving and decision-making skills, individualized responsibility for learning in a realistic atmosphere, better understanding of group dynamics as a group process, interaction with and understanding of the environment and the relationship of man to his natural and manmade environment will broaden, humanities will be incorporated through local history. Exposure to outdoor careers and arts and crafts will be included. Moreover, mini-courses in related areas such as woodlore, survival, first aid, and forestry will be introduced. At this level, students will also take field trips outside the center for hiking, mountain climbing and canoeing.

The program at the advanced level, high school, was to be a direct but more detailed extension of that at the upper intermediate level. Differences would include more independent study and vocational education "through the building and maintenance of the center."

Sub-goal 7: Cultural Enrichment: Cultural enrichment aimed "to provide and share additional cultural activities through cooperation within and among communities." A number of programs and activities were envisaged under this sub-goal. One was a series of courses emphasizing local and American culture. These courses would contrast urban, rural, and foreign lifestyles. Trips to other cultural areas such as Boston or Montreal were included. Another activity was the establishment of a "newspaper informing the people of local cultural events as well as other [North Country] news." Students from the English and business departments as well as community "reporters" would prepare the paper.

A third aspect of this sub-goal was to increase the "number of performances by outside groups such as the [nearby college drama groups]." A music collection including tapes as well as records for Woodington School was also to be started.

During the second year exchanges of students and teachers between schools would begin. This would involve students and teachers from Paperville and Riverton changing schools for a semester.

Governance: In addition to the components or sub-goals dealing with curriculum, the proposal also dealt with the governance of the project. According to the proposal, the Experimental Schools Project Committee with the Project Director would run the project. The committee was to be responsible for organizing the various project subcommittees. The director would be "responsible for and an overseer of the operations of all Experimental Schools programs." Both the committee and director would hire people for the programs and plan the phase out of the overall project. The Experimental Schools Committee and the Public Relations Subcommittee would disseminate information about the project to the community and funnel information from the community into the project.

Evaluation: Evaluation of the various components of the project was to occur through seven evaluation sub-committees, one for each subgoal of the project.

> Functions of the evaluation teams include the gathering of information (by direct observation) about the sub-goal for which they are responsible, and determining if programs are meeting their objectives by using the evaluation guidelines built into the program proposal. The evaluation teams will also be responsible for suggesting possible alternatives (relative to program changes) to the Experimental Schools Committee and to the Project Director.

Of key importance were the ways in which the Experimental Schools project related to school personnel. According to the proposal, the building principals

> provide an important linkage between Experimental Schools projects and existing school curricula. They will be responsible for general overseeing of the total school curriculum including the coordination and maintenance of all Experimental Schools projects within their buildings. This will include responsibility for staff training; that is, communications workshops and summer inservice training of professional aides and volunteer workers.
>
> The principals are responsible for specifying all teacher duties, including those related to Experimental Schools projects. Cooperation with evaluators and consultation with the psychological services personnel are expected.
>
> In cooperation with the vocational education coordinator, the secondary school principals will be responsible for coordinating and implementing all vocational programs.

Regarding teachers, the proposal stated that

> The teaching staff will, in general, be responsble for implementing all Experimental Schools projects related to their teaching responsibilities. Teachers are expected to continually assess student interests and progress related to school and Experimental Schools Project programs. On the basis of that assessment they are responsible for development of programs to meet individuals' needs. In addition, teachers are responsible for attendance at inservice workshops. Teachers are expected to cooperate in taking inventories and in sharing of resources as well as to remain well-informed about the use of available resources.
>
> In addition, the teaching staffs of all schools will be responsible for informing parents about Experimental Schools programs as they relate to their children and for cooperation in Experimental Schools program evaluations, both sub-goal evaluation teams and outside contracted evaluators.

Time, Space, Facilities: Implementation of the programs contained in the proposal called for some changes in the use of time, space, and facilities. The proposal stated that the existing school program was

> tied to a conventional time-frame. School is open from September to June, from 8:30 to 3:00. No attempt has been made to make wider use of the resources of time, other than the A.B.E. and G.E.D. night classes.[6]

New activities associated with the cultural enrichment component, the night course available to adults and students, the work-site program which would "not necessarily conform to regular school hours and calendar, but rather to the working hours dictated by the nature of the job being performed," the outdoor lab, and curriculum planning which occurred during the summers and after school would alter the traditional pattern of the use of time in the schools. Of all the new activities, the outdoor lab, which would be used for overnight and weekend outings throughout the entire year, seemed to be the one most likely to mark the greatest divergence from traditional patterns of school use.

The projected programs also indicated some new uses of space and facilities. Though much of the activities would occur in school buildings, the outdoor site would create a new facility and the work-site program would increase the educational utilization of the community. The creation of youth centers in Riverton and Paperville would be a new use of local facilities. The increased number of field trips, both to the outdoor lab and to various "cultural" areas, would represent an increase in the use of the immediate area and in more distant areas.

The proposal also envisaged some renovations of Riverton School which were "necessitated" by the Experimental Schools project. The proposal stated:

> In order to provide space to successfully implement these plans, remodeling of the ground and third floor will be necessary. Students and community members will provide as much labor, and material as possible. This is a major area of community involvement and a means to sharing of commitment to this project. According to [state] fire codes, two flights of stairs must be built, extending from the second to the third floor, a covered fire escape built, and a sprinkler system on the side of the lower two floors. Extra funds will be needed to meet the minimum fire standards which accompany the renovation necessary to carry out the curriculum changes.

As can be seen, the actual renovating would be tied into the overall aim of community participation in the schools.

ES/WASHINGTON'S REACTION AND PROPOSAL REVISION

After the proposal was sent to Washington and the core group and planning committee disbanded, all activity related to the project ceased. None of the "informal workshops" that were written into the proposal occurred. Instead, people waited for Washington's response to the proposal.

In early March a group of people, including a principal from a New England State high school, a professor from the University of Massachusetts, and a representative from Washington visited North Country Union. Their official charge was to meet with school officials and assess the capability of the district to implement its proposals. This assessment would be given to ES/Washington to help it evaluate the proposal. During this visit, the representative from Washington who had visited the site in January decided, based on his previous observations as well as his observations and discussions from this visit, that the project had little chance of success in North Country Union unless a new director was found for the project.

Word about the proposal came in late April. The Superintendent was notified that North Country Union would receive funding, but that the proposal as it now stood was unacceptable. He said that Washington indicated that the proposal was too wide-ranging and ambitious, and was not specific enough as to objectives, budget, and time lines. He thought, personally, that the project should concentrate only in one area: language arts. However, he was going to let the other administrators decide what should be included in the project.

First the superintendent and elementary coordinator worked on the budget and time lines for the project. Then, the Superintendent and elementary coordinator met with the principals from the various schools to narrow the scope of the project and decide exactly what should and should not be included in the revised proposal. He asked the principals to indicate which elements of the existing proposal they wanted to keep. Psychological services and outdoor education received the strongest support from the principal of Riverton School. Support for outdoor education from Paperville was minimal, but Washington's interest in outdoor education ensured its inclusion in the revised proposal. Indeed, the Superintendent thought that failure to include outdoor education would have jeopardized the entire project. He later said to me: "The minute [ES/Washington] saw [outdoor education], they jumped on it. If we had dropped that out, they would have dropped the project." Everyone supported career and vocational education. The administrators decided to limit the scope of "curriculum change" to language arts, an area which everyone agreed needed more attention than other areas of the curriculum. Adult education remained in the proposal as well. The administrators eliminated the kindergarten experience in Woodington, the cultural enrichment program, the youth center, and space renovations at Riverton School.

A revised proposal was hurriedly sent to Washington. Early in May the Superintendent and elementary consultant went to Washington to meet with representatives of ES about the revised proposal. The meeting in Washington was a very stormy one and, according to the Superintendent, almost ended in North Country Union's pulling out of the ES program. It was clear to the Superintendent and elementary consultant that Washington was not very pleased with the proposal, but, again, the people from Washington would not provide specific examples of problems or faults with the revision, even when asked. The Superintendent later said: "We felt our proposal wasn't that great. We wanted them to tell us what's good and what isn't." When Washington did not deal in specifics, and when they indicated concern that the local project was not yet operational in any fashion,[7] both the Superintendent and elementary consultant began to think that the people in Washington had not even bothered to read the materials that had been sent them.

Though interaction was strained throughout the meeting, conflict peaked over the issue of removing the Project Director. According to the Superintendent, the head of the Experimental Schools program hinted at this several times before he came out and said that the project would not be re-funded unless the Project Director were removed. At this point the Superintendent became visibly angered, but after some discussion, a compromise of sorts was reached. The national director of the Experimental Schools program agreed with the idea that the current Project Director could be given another, less important, position in the project. However, no firm agreement on this was reached at the meeting. The Superintendent said that they would have to report back to the school boards about these developments.

The Superintendent and elementary consultant returned to New England State, ready to pull out of the project. The superintendent reported to the Union Board the events in Washington. He said that he told the board that they could abandon the project now if they wished, but the board left the decision about continuing up to him. He told the board that he would not force the director out of his position. Rather, he would present the situation to the director and ask him if he wanted to step down to another position in the project. After discussing the matter with the superintendent, the Project Director agreed to step down and become the career/vocational coordinator.

Another trip to Washington followed shortly after the first one. This visit was very different from the previous one. According to the Superintendent: "They [ES/Washington] actually sat down and worked with us on specifics." These meetings resulted in a number of changes in the project. Washington suggested that coordinators be added to language arts and outdoor education to give these components more equal status with career/vocational education. A full-time paid position for language arts was added while a part-time unpaid position was added for outdoor education. Two full-time substitute positions were added. These substitutes would be used to replace regular teachers when they were involved in project activities during the school day. The Superintendent was not convinced this was the best way to deal with teacher absences; he wanted money for substitutes put in the project budget which would give the Union more flexibility than it would have with just two substitutes. He thought that the two substitutes would not be enough to cover for all the teachers likely to be involved in project activities. Further, he thought that there might be long stretches in which they would have nothing to do. Washington said that the coordinators could be used as substitutes also; thus the two full-time substitutes were added.

Washington also added an evaluative component to the project which involved hiring a half-time evaluator and a half-time cost analyst. These positions were supposed to provide information to the project and school districts about the effects of project activities and their cost effectiveness.

Agreement was reached on the basic outlines of the project for North Country Union. The actual writing of the revised plan occurred during the summer after a new project director was hired. Two people applied for the directorship, one person from the area who had worked on another federal project, and an individual with a doctorate from a neighboring state. The latter was hired in July and he revised the proposal in concert with the principals, the Superintendent, and the elementary coordinator. The final proposal was submitted to Washington on August 15.

To understand the interaction that occurred between the local school district and Washington over the submitted plan, it is necessary to look at Washington's reactions to the events of the planning year. As will be seen, as time progressed, Washington increased its concern about the ability of North Country Union to successfully plan and implement comprehensive educational change. And, it is out of this concern that Washington apparently decided to exert more pressure and influence on the district during the negotiations over the final plan.

There is evidence that Washington was concerned about the ability of North Country Union to develop a plan from the very beginning. The first ES/Washington Project Officer wrote as follows after her first visit in September 1972 to New England State:[8]

> Nothing is happening yet as far as planning goes. Concerns they have acted on include a director, office space, training for the advisory committee. This seems to come from [the Riverton principal], who has had experience as a Job Corps director and of all the administrators seem (sic) to have been "around." Conversations revealed that (a) his concept of involvement is having teachers and students plan (b) he does not feel anyone can plan without "training" (c) his concept of training extends only to training for planning and problem solving and does not seem to include teaching techniques, etc. (d) he feels Riverton is superior to the other two schools and communities and to his staff (sic). Although at first I questioned the need to hire a director, it might help off-set some misdirection on [the Riverton Principal's] part.

About a month later, the same Project Officer expressed concern about the ability of the local planning group to complete the required planning document on time. Near the middle of November, the ES/Washington consultant visited North Country Union. He wrote the following about his visit:

> This visit was made to review the status of the Union's planning and evaluation effort leading to completion of the Experimental Schools plan by February 15, 1973. Continuing communication with the site had raised the following concerns about its progress toward the goal of a plan by that date:
>
> 1. What appeared to be unreasonable delay in coming to conclusions about the strategies to be employed. For example, an assessment of community needs using survey methods was not to be completed until after the beginning of December.
> 2. Training in group processes for the advisory committee established for the Experimental Schools program had questionable results in terms of goals allegedly set for it, e.g., to seek out ideas and feelings within the community about what its educational philosophy and needs were.

3. A disparity in the apparent desire to innovate as between the school in Paperville and that in North Riverton to the point where it seemed that a unitary, integrated program for the district might be unlikely to develop or implement.

His report also described his interaction with people in North Country Union.

> We discussed at length the ways in which their plan would address the major principles of Experimental Schools, e.g., how are they going to be able to demonstrate that the major components of their plan are mutually reinforcing, compatible, and integrated into a comprehensive system; how are they going to show that they are focusing the unique assets and resources of small size and rural setting in overcoming educational problems; etc.
>
> Whereas at every point reassurances were given that these and other questions were in the forefront of thinking, when pushed for examples, very little was forthcoming, e.g., in use of the rural setting, "we could take kids out and show them indigenous flora and fauna."....I worry most about the prospect of developing that sense of ultimate purpose re learning that should become the umbrella or context for the Experimental Schools project. In part, I perceive this to be due to concentration on things to do, rather than starting with overall goals. But in part also, there seems to me to be a lack of concensus among school officials about major purposes.

Washington's concern over North Country Union's progress increased with the last site visit in January. This visit by two different people, one the new project officer, was the one that upset the local people. The report of this visit is instructive because it clearly gives both Washington's view of the progress of the planning year and their assessment of the various key actors in North Country Union. A major need that had been discussed was the "need for [the project director] to supply leadership in the committee [and] the distinction between leadership and decision making." Relating to this, they also spoke to the planning committee about the "need for decision making in reference to some purpose." They suggested the improved use of priorities set by the committee and the need to rework those priorities in relation to a central theme (and in relation to results of the Needs Assessment Survey of students and community.)" Finally, they spoke to the principal of Paperville High School, the Project Director, and the Superintendent about the "need to spell out the power of the committee vis a vis [the Project Director], [the Superintendent], local school boards, principals."

A second major area of concern was the plan itself, especially the degree to which it met the requirement of comprehensiveness. The site visitors spoke to all the members of the planning committee about "the need to consider [the] interrelatedness of [the] education program across grade levels, subject areas, schools [and] the need to consider [the] interrelatedness of new programs with existing programs. They also expressed concern about

> the possibility of addressing some of the problems of the French-speaking community. The problems of bi-lingual children were mentioned in each school, but each time dismissed as pertaining to a minority of students. [The Project Director], in addition, felt committee members would not support such efforts because of prejudice (there were no French-speaking members on the committee).

A third general area of concern was that of increased participation by various groups in the schools and communities in the project. The site visitors raised this issue in one way or another with everyone on site, but they stressed it especially with the Superintendent and Project Director. They spoke about the "need for participation of principals and staff from each school in [the] development of [a] comprehensive plan [and] the relationship of comprehensive planning among schools to program differences among schools, i.e. agreement on what differences in (sic) how." They also spoke of "the need to involve staff in developing and implementing the plan. We discussed ways to free staff in each school and suggested groupings which would encourage planning across grade levels, subject areas and among schools."

The desire for increased participation was not limited to teachers and principals. The people from Washington also saw the need for greater involvement from members of the various communities making up North Country Union. They saw

> the need for the Woodington community to be involved in planning for Paperville High School (after 6th grade, students from Woodington attend secondary school in Paperville. They usually find the tracking system places them at the bottom and that the school does not offer them alternatives to an academic course. Parents from Woodingtom are concerned about the number of sutdents expelled and the number of dropouts. At present the parents have no part in the planning for the high school.

In addition to greater involvement from people from Woodington, the site visitors also saw "the need to involve a broader base of the community, particularly the lower economic groups, like the mill people in Riverton, in the committee."

Finally, the representatives from Washington told the people in North Country Union of "the need to implement all major components by September, 1973."

The report on the site visit also contained capsule "background observations" on the key actors in North Country Union. They provide insight into NIE's assessment of the situation in North Country Union. The assessments follow:

[Superintendent of schools]:	not committed to community planning. When things get tough, he favors one person writing plan and then getting committee approval. Prefers not to force principals or boards. Not open in discussion of problems.
Project Director:	teacher from North Riverton with stronger ties to [the Riverton principal] and staff there than to other schools. Uncertain of or incompetent in leadership role (emphasis added)--reinforced by not being a native in area and by wanting to encourage committees to take responsibility. Does not understand comprehensive planning or evaluation. Wants the [Needs Assessment consultants] to train him as an evaluator (together with other on-site people) while he is project director. Still hopes to use plan as developed in program report with a few adjustments to make it comprehensive.

Riverton School Principal: has set tone for interest in affective growth, concern with teacher-pupil relationship, has devoted much time to student and staff planning independent of ES, has genuine involvement from most of his staff, appreciates far-reaching possibilities for change, encourages idea that North Riverton is superior to Paperville.

Paperville Elementary School Principal: little participation to date, interested in innovation, prefers to let staff develop individually, has conducted staff work in reading and reporting to parents, staff not very informed or interested.

Paperville High School Principal: very little participation (until [the Superintendent] spoke to him) threatened by discussions of the committee, staff has very little information, but there is a group that is interested.

THE PLANNING YEAR: AN OVERVIEW

One problem for North Country Union was that involvement began as a result of the actions of one person in one school district, the principal of Riverton School, who, with his teachers, had a plan and a vision for his school. The rest of North Country Union was reluctantly included in the project. Thus, they did not proceed on the basis of a common problem or set of problems that generated participation by the three school districts in the project, although the idea of commonly felt problems seemed to be a premise of the Experimental Schools project.

Coupled with this was the fact that the school districts that made up North Country Union were autonomous, each with its own school board, policies, and somewhat varying educational programs and priorities. Contact, cooperation, and joint action among the districts had been minimal in the past. (Ironically, according to one of North Country Union's federal project officers, an important reason for funding North Country Union was to see whether a supervisory union could, in fact, act as a single unit to bring about comprehensive educational change. This hidden agenda violated the promise that ES/Washington's interest in locally generated plans would be confined to the process of planned educational change.)

Essentially, each district went its own way within the rules, regulations, and guidelines set by the State Department of Education and with minimal concern for the other districts. Lacking a tradition of common planning and action made union-wide change a difficult undertaking.

A third problem for the activities of the planning year was the absence of effective leadership. By design, the Superintendent and other administrators did not exert strong leadership during the better part of the planning year, yet the person chosen as director was, by everyone's assessment, ineffective.

These three factors were responsible for molding the main features of the planning year and its lack of success. One feature was the great amount of time the planning group spent trying to get started, much of this time being devoted to specifying and respecifying duties and obligations of the committee rather than to actual program planning.

A second feature of the planning year was the hodgepodge nature of the actual proposal that the group created. It had a little bit of everything for everyone, or almost everyone, and, in essence, reflected the inability of the planning committee to plan on a union-wide basis. This was exacerbated by the very non-specific nature of the criticism they received from Washington which offered them little incentive or direction for changing the proposal.

The third feature of the planning year was the reestablishment of administrative control over the project after the planning committee was disbanded. The lack of success of the planning committee, coupled with its growing assertiveness, led the administrators to take over control of the project. In rewriting the proposal for Washington, care was taken to ensure that the governance of the project rested solely in the hands of the principals, the Superintendent, and the Project Director who they hired. Thus much time was lost, and the overall result was that the North Country ES project began its first active year with serious handicaps threatening its ultimate success.

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CHAPTER SIX: THE FIRST OPERATIONAL YEAR: MAKING IT UP AS YOU GO ALONG

The first operational year of the North Country Union ES project presented problems for all of the components, although the specific problems associated with each differed. All componets did, however, share one common characteristic: when the year started, a specific agenda for action did not exist. Rather, each program had to be created and developed as the year went along. In the case of psychological services, the creation of the program was accomplished quickly; for outdoor education it took the entire year and several half-starts to create the groundwork upon which a program could be built, as was true with language arts and career/vocational education as well. The first operational year was, therefore, really one of program creation rather than implementation. In the sections which follow a discussion of project governance and interaction with ES/Washington is followed by accounts of each of the four major components of project functioning: psychological services, outdoor education, language arts, and career/vocational education.

GOVERNANCE AND INTERACTION WITH ES/WASHINGTON

Project Governance

The formal governance structure of the North Country Union's ES project made the Project Director responsible to the ES Council of which he was a member, with the Council responsible to the Superintendent, who was also a Council member (Figure 1). Although the Superintendent was directly responsible to the North Country Union School Board, this relationship was of little significance with regard to the ES project, in which the Board took only a perfunctory interest. The Project Director and his coordinators made quarterly reports to the various school boards (not to the Union Board but to each town's school board individually) and presented board members with handouts describing the various activities of the project. With few exceptions, the materials were received with little comment or interest on the part of the school boards.

The Council made all major decisions about ES activites. After initial screening by the project director, the Council members interviewed applicants for various Experimental Schools project positions. The Council members then made their recommendations to the director, who generally hired the one most favored by Council members. The Council also made decisions about the coordinators' activities and the unanticipated expenditure of funds, which were any that had not been written into the proposal and budget. (Exceptions to the latter dealt with purchasing books for Woodington School, and book and equipment purchases at Paperville High School. In these instances the elementary consultant and the Superintendent effectively made the decisions, although even these issues were discussed before the Council.)

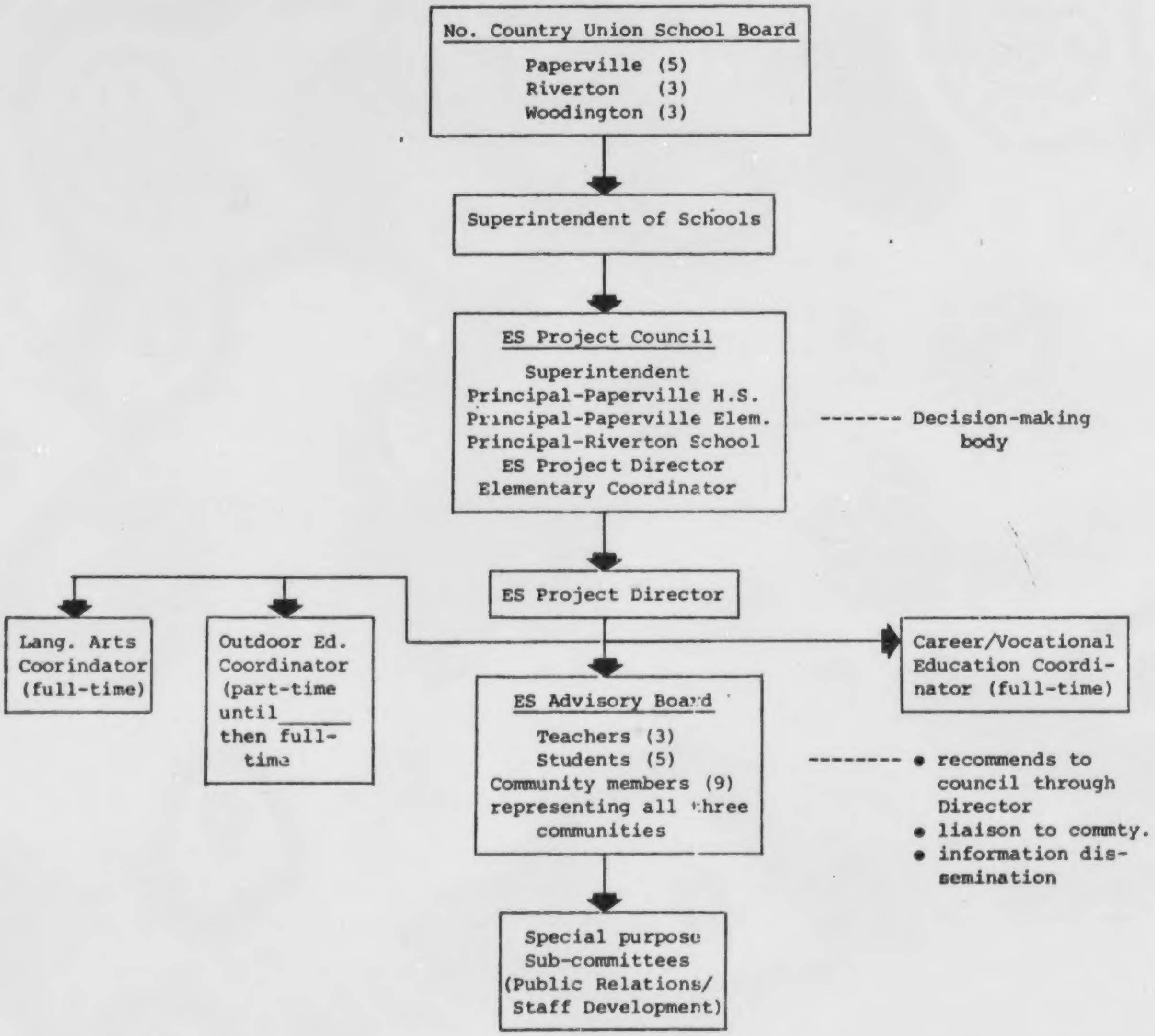
In the fall of 1973, the various coordinators frequently attended the Council meetings. However, concerns about the performance of the career/vocational coordinator led the principal of Paperville High School to suggest excluding the coordinators from the meetings. The other members of the Council readily agreed to this policy, and the coordinators were excluded from Council meetings except in the infrequent instances when they were called upon to present reports. Thus, the director was the funnel for information between the Council and the coordinators.

Decision making by the Council was informal. The director prepared the agenda for the meetings after consultation with the other members of the Council. The actual decision making was generally by implied consensus, that is, people would discuss an issue until it appeared as though agreement was reached. Then the Superintendent would sum up and state the position of the Council and the "decision" would be made. On a number of occasions (as in the cases of the book and equipment issues at Paperville High School and the decision to use the local health service) the Superintendent and principals took opposing views, in which case the Superintendent's opinion frequently prevailed. Another common procedure was for the director to enact a recommendation made by a Council member in the course of discussing an issue (the decision to make a more specific job description for the career/vocational coordinator is an example of this). No votes were taken on issues and there was no formal procedure (e.g., "I move the Council...") for having the Council make decisions.

Initially, the Council had weekly meetings to deal with all of the issues and problems that accompany starting any new, complex social venture. As time went on during the fall, the meetings became less frequent, both

FIGURE 1

FORMAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE OF THE NORTH COUNTRY ES PROJECT


No. Country Union School Board
Paperville (5)
Riverton (3)
Woodington (3)
Superintendent of Schools
ES Project Council
Superintendent
Principal-Paperville H.S.
Principal-Paperville Elem.
Principal-Riverton School
ES Project Director
Elementary Coordinator
------- Decision-making body
ES Project Director
Lang. Arts Coorindator (full-time)
Outdoor Ed. Coordinator (part-time until ______ then full-time
Career/Vocational Education Coordinator (full-time)
ES Advisory Board
Teachers (3)
Students (5)
Community members (9) representing all three communities
-------- • recommends to council through Director
• liaison to commty.
• information dissemination
Special purpose Sub-committees (Public Relations/ Staff Development)

because people did not perceive the meetings as necessary (that is, they thought that the director could make more and more of the daily decisions about the project), and because the administrators did not want to spend so much time on ES matters when they had other more important responsibilities. In February 1974 the Council stopped meeting and did not meet again that May. During this period the Project Director met with the Superintendent to discuss any important issues or problems that arose. And, while this suited the Project Director, the principals began to feel that decisions were being made which were contrary to their wishes. They complained to the ES/Washington Project Officer about this during his visit in May, as the comments below indicate.

> ES Project Officer: What good is the Council?
>
> Riverton Principal: We ran into some problems with the Scott Foresman reading series with the School Board. At the board meeting it came to light that some things go through the Council and some go through the Superintendent for decision-making. Not all decisions are made by the Council. Some are made by the Superintendent and director.
>
> Project Officer: Did you have a Council before ES?
>
> Riverton and Paperville Principals: No
>
> Paperville High School Principal: The Council has not functioned as a Council. The damn thing's not working. We're three separate communities. I came down to see the Project Director about materials for my building, the off-set, a programmable bookkeeping machine, and the book. I thought we were going to get them. Then I heard I wasn't because the Riverton Principal yelled. I think the Scott Foresman series (being purchased for Riverton) is a district responsibility, not an ES responsibility, but I realize they can't afford it. Still.....
>
> Project Officer: Is that the fault of the Council?

Riverton Principal: Did we vote on [the Level I evaluator]?

Paperville High School Principal: I don't know. That's a sore spot in the community[9] and with me.

Project Officer: What do you mean? Could you be more specific?

Riverton Principal: I gave some negative feedback on this person based on my experience with him as a substitute.

Paperville High School Principal: We interviewed a number of people and recommended the strongest person. I think [the Level I evaluator's] doing [the career/vocational coordinator's] job and that pisses me off. I wasn't aware that was a job. With [the career/vocational coordinator] somebody always has to do his job for him. I wish there was a clear definition of how the Council was going to function.

Riverton Principal: [The Project Director] said that he wanted that clarified too but we haven't done it.

Project Officer: Why is this the first time it has been brought up?

Riverton Principal: We didn't realize it was a problem.

Paperville Elementary Principal: He [the Project Director] did ask us for our opinions about the three candidates for the position.

Riverton Principal: He never asked if we should look further. I think we should have.

Paperville High School Principal: I got the idea he wanted to know who we wanted for the job. But let's get it down on paper on how and who decides these things. Also we have to remember that somewhere along the line the board got in on the act.

The dissatisfaction with the way the Council functioned led to the resumption of Council meetings. Communication of the dissatisfaction to the ES/Washington Project Officer also led him to "suggest" changes in the composition of the Council at his next site visit.

The Advisory Board was created to insure community participation in the ES project. However, because of administrative discontent with the activities of the planning committee and its core group, the Advisory Board was deliberately and explicitly denied any decision-making responsibilities.

The activities of the Advisory Board were troubled from the beginning because there was some difficulty in getting members. The Superintendent recommended that the Parent Teacher Organizations (PTOs) of the three towns be contacted for suggestions, and a handout describing the Advisory Board's proposed functions was distributed at PTO meetings.

Eventually, a Board was organized, and its first meeting held in November 1973. There were six people in attendance: three from Woodington, three from Paperville, and none from Riverton. The Project Director presented an overview of the project and its activities, and then asked the new Advisory Board members about any problems they may have encountered with the project. The majority of complaints involved the adult education course, which many people felt was poorly managed. Teenagers and non-residents were taking the course, while many residents had never received any information about it; the oil painting course was being "monopolized' by experienced painters, leaving little of the instructor's time and attention for beginners; and many students had to wait outside in the cold because there was no one person responsible for opening the building. The Project Director indicated that he would have the coordinator remedy the situation. The other major topic of discussion at that meeting was the apathy of the townspeople with regard to education, but no suggestions were offered for the solution of this problem.

Only three people attended the second meeting in January--one from Paperville and two from Riverton. The main topic of discussion was the possible training of classroom tutors (who had no previous formal training and felt that it would be beneficial to them) through use of ES funds. The Director discussed this with the Paperville Elementary School Principal, but the Principal felt that based upon prior experience, such endeavors were "a waste of time," and this idea was also dropped.

By the third Advisory Board meeting in April attendance was down to only two people. At this meeting, the vocational education program in automative repair was discussed. As is further noted in the discussion on career/vocational education, this idea never reached fruition. With the low attendance and waning interest in the Advisory Board, the Project Director seriously considered abandoning it altogether. However, an attempt was made to revive it in the fall of 1974 and it also limped along without any influence during the second year.

Relations with Washington

The three site visits that occurred during the first operational year were the most direct and important interactions between Washington and the local site. These visits had visible impacts upon the project during this year and formed the basis for major influence exerted by Washington upon the local project during the second year. The authority structure of the schools was mobilized behind the ES project, which led to major implementation of project components during the second year.

The first direct contact between the local site and ES/Washington representatives occurred in November 1973 when a team of three people visited North Country Union. They were an official from the National Institute of Education's contracts office whose purpose was to explain the contract and the reporting procedures to the local people; a project officer who had had dealings with North County Union during the planning year (he claimed to be the one responsible for having the first director removed); and North Country Union's new project officer (the previous project officer had left or been removed--it is not clear which--at the end of the summer).

All three visits had the same general format. The representatives would arrive, usually on Monday afternoon, and spend the rest of the first day, all of the next, and about half of the third meeting with people, almost exclusively administrators or school board members, to discuss the progress of the project. Generally on the last day the visitors would meet with the Project Director and the Superintendent to give their assessment of the situation and to offer "suggestions" on things the local project might do to hasten implementation.

The only visit in which the format varied from the above was the first visit in November 1973 when a major item on Washington's agenda was discussion of the contractual and budgetary obligations of the local site and specification of the reporting format the local site would use. Though all three representatives from Washington sat in on the meetings in which these issues were discussed with the Project Director, the Superintendent, elementary coordinator and the project secretary/bookkeeper, the discussions were led by the representative from the contracts and grants office. And, while the conversations seemed lengthy and at times esoteric, the Superintendent later said that he thought they were very helpful because the requirements were made clear and specific and because, whenever a question arose, the federal contracts officer had a clear and direct answer.

The other meetings did not produce such a benign effect among the locals, especially the Project Director. They had a question-and-answer format in which the project officers from Washington asked questions about on-site activities and the local representatives answered them. Often, the questions and comments of the visitors had an interrogative or critical edge to them as the excerpts below indicate.

> Career/Vocational Coordinator: (Provides a run down of career/vocational activities to that point and a projection of future events.)
>
> New Project Officer: What jobs in the area are there for students after they finish the program?
>
> Career/Vocational Coordinator: We chose this area for the program--agri-business and hospitality and recreation. We are focusing on these. They came from the materials we received from Washington.
>
> New Project Officer: In the materials you sent us, the work sites and jobs seemed to have been chosen with care. Is this a correct assumption?
>
> Career/Vocational Coordinator: These were the worksites that were available. That's why we chose them.
>
> Retiring Project Officer: It's unclear about the mini courses. Are they taken from what the kids themselves suggest?
>
> Career/Vocational Coordinator: Yes. We surveyed the students on this. They also tie into the vocational program.

Retiring Project Officer: Can these be taught during the regular school hours?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: Yes, that's probably when they will be taught. The school nurse is going to go to the child care course. The one in Riverton could be taught at night but I think that would be bad for the kids. It also might be hard for them to get to the school.

Retiring Project Officer: Do the students have a preference for night courses?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: No.

Outdoor Education Coordinator: The biggest thing is in the staff that got turned on over the summer. I really believe you need a full-time coordinator for this component. Right now I'm working on three phases--the trips, the evaluation of the trips, and the curriculum.

Retiring Project Officer: Who's working on the curriculum materials?

Outdoor Education Coordinator: There are six teachers, the subs, and the Project Director.

Retiring Project Officer: Let's look 4, 5, 10 years down the road, after the Experimental Schools program is over. What do you hope to see happening here? Do you hope to see all the classes using the curriculum materials?

Outdoor Education Coordinator: Yeah, our philosophy is to see the materials assimilated into the curriculum. We want to see more people involved in the outdoors.

Retiring Project Officer: Hopefully, it will be in the classes. But could you be more specific on how this will happen? For example, I'm the third grade teacher, how does outdoor education affect me?

Outdoor Education Coordinator: I'm trying to think of an example. Yeah, you could do something on the history of the area and take kids and go view historical sites. In math you could do counting skills by having the kids count different leaves or count the points on leaves.

Retiring Project Officer: I've never thought of it but my class never studies leaves, then what?

Outdoor Education Coordinator: We've got a booklet with objectives that relate different subject areas to the outdoors that you could use.

Retiring Project Officer: I've already got my curriculum established.

Outdoor Education Coordinator: We felt that teachers would not like to be told they have to do this. We feel we're here and we would like you to use our materials....

Retiring Project Officer: Do you plan to document this for yourself? Have you gotten to evaluation?

Outdoor Education Coordinator: Now you run into time. For the last month due to other things we really haven't done anything. We feel it's a lot of junk but we've got to do it.

Retiring Project Officer: It would be helpful with your school board if you want money for the program. There also will be other school systems that will want to know about your experiences.

Outdoor Educational Coordinator: We've had alot of new teachers who got turned on by the summer experience. The 10 day trip really turned us on and now we've had to come down with some reality testing.

Retiring Project Officer: How comfortable are you in discussing it in terms of primary and secondary objectives?

Outdoor Education Coordinator: The strongest point for self image is the weekend thing. Going outside and walking up a hill or being able to bushwhack with just a compass and a map, that's got to help kids' self images. To me any new knowledge will help your self-respect...

If the questioning of coordinators could be a little trying at times, the questioning of the Project Director definitely was, as the following long excerpt from the November 1973 visit demonstrates.

New Project Officer: I don't seem to hear any long-range goals of career education. Have you?

Retiring Project Officer: No

New Project Officer: I haven't even heard what the concept was.

Retiring Project Officer: I even spent some time trying to figure out what it meant.

Project Director: In the summer they spent a week trying to figure this out, but they're still fumbling. One that [the coordinator] liked was a program from Cobb County, GA. That's where alot of their materials came from. Since school started, [the coordinator] is trying to get a grasp of the area. Really, there is no career ed in the schools right now. We're trying to tie in career information program with a vocational program. As he defines it, it's a program of study about careers which will be tied into a work study program in ES which will differ from the schools' work study programs.

As a I told you yesterday, work study was a sore point in the high school. They had a series of three meetings and got it clarified. The office practices program would stay in the high school, we would develop other programs.

Retiring Project Officer: Is that the resolution, that business ed. runs their program [the vocational coordinator] runs the other?

Project Director: Business ed suggested that [the vocational ed coordinator] take it all over. Another suggestion was for us to demonstrate other programs. The third was that they all work together, so that they see some involvement in our program.

Retiring Project Officer: Our and their program, is that intentional on your part?

Project Director: That's the way they use it. In the planning year they saw this as something that was working in areas that the school wasn't working in.

Retiring Project Officer: I don't understand why you don't consider that if the people in business ed are running a career ed program letting them run the program here and have them work with [the vocational ed coordinator] who's coordinating things here.

Project Director: Business ed. is more than just career ed. They run a cooperative program at the mill too. Besides, there are alot of bad feelings between those people and [the vocational education coordinator] that stem from the planning year.

Retiring Project Officer: It's never going to go as you can join us if you want.

Project Director: This is the way it was in the planning year.

Retiring Project Officer: In effect they are in the program.

Project Director: It's going to take time. Our involvement is going to do this. It has to be developed.

Retiring Project Officer: If the framework is that they can join ES, the whole thing will break down. It has to be structured so it is, how can ES help you in the schools expand your programs and do a better job. The coordinator has to feel that he gets teachers involved in creating their own programs.

Project Director: There is still not an identity of ES as Paperville High School or Paperville Elementary School. They are still separate.

Retiring Project Officer: How do the coordinators see it? Is it a school program we help them develop or is it our program that we are developing?

Project Director: I think "our" is used by us to describe what we are doing. His activities as opposed to the activities of teachers and principals.

New Project Officer: I had a problem with the coordinators. The packet of materials described what the program was about. Only once did a coordinator mention what was in the packet. How are these things disseminated to the teachers and how do they work with the staffs of the schools?

Project Director: Communication with the schools threw me for a loop this year. Communication with the schools is in its infant stages. The outdoor education materials haven't gone out to the schools yet. [the vocational ed coordinator's] materials will go out in a workshop. The language arts materials have gone out already. They went out during the orientation.

New Project Officer: In the packet I saw a concept for ES. My question is, do the people know what the concept is? Everywhere I went I heard fiefdom.

Project Director: No. We're still struggling with that.

New Project Officer: Do the coordinators understand their role in the project?

Project Director: From a scope of work viewpoint they do. They should know it.

New Project Officer: Do they see the total picture?

Project Director: Where?

New Project Officer: In their respective components.

Project Director: No.

New Project Director: Were they in on the beginning of the project?

Project Director: [The outdoor ed coordinator] was, [the vocational education coordinator] was, but [the language arts coordinator] wasn't.

New Project Officer: We're talking about a crawling animal. They're not a group yet; they don't see the world yet.

Retiring Project Officer: Yes. One of the attractive things about North Country Union was the letter from [the Riverton Principal]. We looked at the area and found that it was New England State which is organized in supervisory unions. We wanted to explore the idea of how do you involve three separate districts in comprehensive change. This was attractive to us. What can a supervisory union provide for coordination etc., this is the challenging part of the project. What can a supervisory union do to pull together three separate districts? You are going to have to address this question. How do you do this so you're not running a fourth program?

The issue of coordination was never addressed during the planning year. This issue has to be addressed. Until you do, you're not going to get into the schools. You have people who see this as separate because of the planning year and you'll have to figure out how to overcome this problem.

Project Director: In the Council you see an activity basic to the particular schools. In psychological services, [the Riverton Principal], [the Paperville Elementary School Principal], [the Principal of Paperville High School] all made their own schedules and demands for psychological services. We just arranged the schedule. When we get down to it, the principals are seeing the program only in terms of their buildings.

Retiring Project Officer: I don't think you're at that point yet. ES is still separate from things.

New Project Officer: How do we resolve the problem?

Retiring Project Officer: I'm not sure I've identified it yet.

Project Director: It varies.

Retiring Project Officer: Where does direction come from in the total system?

Project Director: It comes from the Superintendent.

Retiring Project Officer: What kind of direction? Project?

New Project Officer: No, total direction.

Retiring Project Officer: It comes from each district, from the principals.

New Project Officer: Who leads the principals, the Superintendent?

Retiring Project Officer: The Superintendent leads only budgetarily.

New Project Officer: Who heads in regard to program?

Retiring Project Officer: I think the Superintendent provides technical assistance.

New Project Officer: Never a fist?

Retiring Project Officer: He never exercises it.

New Project Officer: Who is the leader of the four principals?

Project Director: Legally the board is, but they report to the Superintendent.

Retiring Project Officer: What type of direction does the Superintedent provide to the schools? Does he say you have a problem and I want you to solve it?

Project Director: [The elementary coordinator] I think does it, mainly on the elementary level.

Retiring Project Officer: Who provides release time for the Riverton teachers, [the Superintendent], the Board, or [the Riverton Principal] ?

Project Director: Union wide it comes from [the Superintendent] with the approval of the Board.

Retiring Project Officer: What if the four principals on the Council decided that they needed released time for their teachers?

Project Director: There are only three on the Council. [The head teacher in Woodington] isn't on it.

Retiring Project Officer: Is Woodington represented on the Council?

Project Director: No.

Retiring Project Officer: Why not?

Project Director: He's not a principal. Only principals can be on the Council.

Retiring Project Officer: Why is there no one from Woodington when you're director of a project for three districts?

Project Director: [Their head teacher] isn't qualified.

Retiring Project Officer: Forget [the head teacher]. How do you get them on the Council? Should they be represented?

Project Director: I would think so.

Retiring Project Officer and New Project Officer: What is your role on the Council?

Project Director: I make recommendations to the Council.

New Project Officer: Where did the idea for the Council come from?

Project Director: It came from the proposal. The proposal stated that there would be a Council.

New Project Officer: What does it say?

Project Director: I think it came about in the proposal.

New Project Officer: Do you serve at the favor of the Council?

Project Director: My contract states that I report to the Superintendent but the Council gives me direction in running the project.

New Project Officer: That is odd. You serve on the Council that directs you.

Project Director: Yes it is. I raised the question: what if a principal wants to pull out of the project? We didn't get a hard answer on it. We're still in the process of developing ground rules for the Council.

Retiring Project Officer: At one point you ought to raise the issue of what it's all about and what it's supposed to do.

Project Director: Basically it's for issues that involve more than one school.

Retiring Project Officer: I don't mean to be too critical, but if you want to bring the community to the schools and vice versa, your structure is not too good.

Project Director: Community involvement comes through the Advisory Board. They set it up so it reports only to the director and is only an advisory, non-effecting committee. Our first meeting with these people will be this Thursday.

Retiring Project Officer: So you have an advisory board only as politically necessary.

New Project Officer: Are you going to do a plan for us?

Project Director: I spoke to [the third visitor] and she told me what you wanted. She said that you want detail on how we will reach our objectives.

Retiring Project Officer: We realize you can't lay it out for three years. We want to know how you're going to get that plan into the schools. Another part of the plan should be on governance. If it follows the pattern of the other projects we find, we need to do more talking with the local project people before we deal with the governance issue.

Project Director: We wrote the proposal piecemeal this summer. No one was around during the summer. There was only one meeting with all of the principals and (the Superintendent). People kept popping in and out on it. We have to get everyone together, including teachers, when we do this plan for you.

Retiring Project Officer: Yeah, get together and plan on what you're going to do and how you're going to do it.

Project Director: Will you provide an outline for this?

New Project Officer: Was there one for the proposal?

Project Director: Yes. You provided one.

Retiring Project Officer: I've done it both ways, with and without an outline.

Project Director: This project is run tightly compared to the way other things are done in the Union.

New Project Officer: I'm confused. Where do we go? I saw the proposal, the packets of materials, and I heard the coordinators. I don't know where we should go from here.

Retiring Project Officer: Let's talk about it.

New Project Officer: Do we [train] an evolving animal or do we let it evolve?

Retiring Project Officer: I don't know. You have some things to do. You've got to see if you can straighten out the governance. Last year [the previous director] had problems at Paperville High School. [The principal] didn't attend the meetings. [A teacher] took it on the chin because of his participation and enthusiasm for ES. You've got to take your cues from the building principal. I don't hear community anywhere.

New Project Officer: This has been a revelation.

Retiring Project Officer: Do you see the tunnel?

New Project Officer: I don't know if I want to go in, do you?

Project Director: Have you any documentation of the planning year? I can't figure out what went on and I can't get much from anybody here about it. This year people are using the project for their own ends. [The Riverton Principal] wants to get his discipline problems on the worksite program. He sends them out at noon on worksite and they can't come back into the building. [The coordinator] has been given the responsibility of identifying the discipline problems in the building. [The Paperville Principal] hasn't done this, I'll say that for him.

We have [the elementary principal], [the elementary coordinator] and [the Paperville Principal] come over to talk to us about ideas for Vocational Education. They came up with the idea that ES might be able to help them develop some alternatives for students. Together with ES they thought that it might be possible to develop a facility for kids who the schools aren't dealing with now over near the Superintendent's office. This would be a store front school.

Retiring Project Officer: They wanted you to run the school?

New Project Officer: No, to hire staff and help with equipping it with materials.

Retiring Project Officer: This is outside the regular program. Jesus, they want to do this within the school, not outside of it. That's the big idea of mainstreaming.

Project Director: This idea came up in the planning year and was dropped. When I wrote the proposal, I never heard it mentioned. Now it's cropped up again from people who should know what the program was. If they wanted it, they should have included it in the proposal.

With this the "grilling" of the Project Director ended. As the comments of the federal project officers indicate, they appeared to be dissatisfied with what they found in North Country Union. Community involvement was nil. The ES project was distinctly separate from the regular educational program and was seen as such, not only by the people in the schools, but by the personnel of ES as well. The Council was not working very well and one community, Woodington, was not even represented on it.

Before leaving, the visitors from Washington met with the Superintendent and elementary consultant. The main concern was Woodington's lack of representation on the Council. The new project officer pushed to have a representative from Woodington on the Council and the Superintendent readily agreed to this. He and his associates asked for a "plan" from the Project Director which would specify the way he and his co-workers would implement the project in all schools of the district. And, the visitors raised questions about the functioning of the Council, though they did not leave any specific suggestions for the Project Director other than to see if he could clarify its operation.

Besides leading to the above outcomes, the visit upset the Project Director. He thought that the people from Washington did not think that he was doing a good job. He was angry at their call for another plan because

North Country Union had just finished revising the proposal, and took it to be criticism of the proposal which he felt unjustified because Washington had not given them any guidelines specifying the type of thing that they now wanted. He complained to the Superintendent who told him that he was doing a good job and not to worry about Washington's reactions because they, the locals, had done what had been asked of them thus far. The Superintendent told the director to begin working on the plan that they wanted and to do it as best he could and see what Washington's reaction would be.

This drama was repeated in the other two visits during the first year. The second visit occurred in January 1974. Only the new project officer came and, perhaps because it was his first solo visit to the site, his approach was milder and more conciliatory than it had been on the last visit when he played a secondary role to the retiring project officer. The discussion rambled across a variety of topics. Several times the federal project officer mentioned the problems of monitoring projects such as these and asked the local officials to be truthful with him.

> Project Officer: It's a hell of a job to monitor something like this from 1000 miles. I don't know the local jargon. I doubt if I'll ever be able to spend more than three days on site at a time. If you're straight with me, I'll be straight with you.
>
> Project Director: I have a definition of research which doesn't include cutting things out and covering up. We'll be square with you. We don't have much yet on program; we're still at the process level. We don't have much for Level I yet. Our emphasis right now is on process, making initial contacts and breaking ice.
>
> Project Officer: You have had the worst service record. Four project officers so far.
>
> Superintendent: Traveling here is a problem. You have to leave one day for travel just to get here.
>
> Project Officer: If we can establish a working relationship with trust, then the kids will benefit. I go up a wall when you play a game with me. If we lay it out, we'll make it together and the kids will benefit.

Project Officer: Is there any other way I can help you in D.C. or here?

Superintendent: Our concern has been over how the relationship is going to operate. Everyone here was looking for guidance or direction from you. This was based on our past experience with the Title programs. In this one it's different. It's here it is, do your project and be monitored. In other projects you were pretty much told what and how to do it.

Project Officer: If you're not adhering to the plan, let me know. I don't see any real problems. I'll keep you clued in on what's happening in Washington. You keep me clued in on what's happening here. If you find a problem with the plan, we'll see what can be done to rearrange the plan if need be. If you find something is not feasible or practical, let me know.

With this the meeting and visit ended. While the tone, especially at the end, was mutually conciliatory, underlying much of what the Project Officer said was an attitude of cynicism and toughness which no one could fail to recognize and which was intimidating to the locals. He specifically directed them to find a full-time replacement for the outdoor education coordinator, who had resigned, and they did this. Other than this, he merely raised issues about which they should be concerned. These were planning for the phase out of the project, integration of the project into regular programs of the schools, and Level I evaluation. On none of these did he have anything specific to suggest. Rather, he raised the issue for the locals to attend to in the future.

On his third visit in May 1974, however, the tone was much more critical and aggressive, not only in discussion with the Project Director, but with the coordinators as well. Furthermore, just before his arrival, the Project Officer sent the Project Director a new reporting format which he wanted placed on the agenda for the visit.

The meetings between the federal Project Officer and local Project Director were not very pleasant for the Director, as the following excerpts from their first lengthy meeting indicate. The first issue the Project Officer raised was the status of the language arts program.

Project Officer: Suppose ES/Washington does not think that buying books is a sequential, K-12 language arts program, do you have a fall-back plan for yourself?

Project Director: No.

Project Officer: If some of the schools now want to give the appearance of a program, this would be apparent in the quarterly reports. Do you have an alternative plan to insure this doesn't occur?

Project Director: This would be in the form of the in-service work to prepare teachers for individualization.

Project Officer: Do you think individualization won't work? If not, then we ought to change it.

Project Director: No. It might work. The situation is such that the teachers have 20 to 25 kids. If materials were around the teachers could benefit from in-service training that we could provide.

Project Officer: So it's a traditional classroom and traditional teaching.

Project Director: They use grouping and they feel a need for some work in these areas. This was the reason why the language arts coordinator called the workshop in April. I think individualized instruction would be valuable.

In Riverton, somewhere along the line, before they can individualize, they need something to build on. They don't have a program there.

Project Officer: They don't have a plan?

Project Director: There is no program, there's no plan.

Project Officer: What would their argument be for not getting off the ground if some hard questions were asked?

Project Director: The problem in Riverton just became prominent because of the Board meeting in May. The board members complained about the reading level of the children and criticized the principal and the elementary coordinator.

Project Officer: The last time or the time before when I was here, we were led to believe that the L.A. coordinator was a little off-base focusing on K-2 rather than K-12.

Project Director: I think the question is: Was that a true statement? Yes it was. The second grade teacher in Riverton had all non-readers. In that building the emphasis was on preparatory work.

Project Officer: Was that at the expense of other grades?

Project Director: I think it was that he couldn't get to all of the grades.

Project Officer: Was the program that he devised something approved by you, the principals, and the teachers, or was it something that was pieced together?

Project Director: When the elementary coordinator came on, we, he, and the council thought we should see what plans existed and what were the levels of the teachers.

Project Officer: What did the Level I evaluator do for this?

Project Director: He didn't come on till March and we had a time getting him started and trained.

Project Officer: Oh Jesus, what did you do for data?

Project Director: He used the Gates McGinty and Durrell Tests of reading.

Project Officer: Were the tests applicable?

Project Director: Yes.

Project Officer: Who analyzed the data?

Project Director: Basically the elementary coordinator did. Then the Riverton Principal and his people used it for a justification to push for a reading program. In Woodington it showed them where they were. And here in Paperville some people patted themselves on the back. We just wanted to use the data to show where the different schools were in reading.

Project Officer: Then, why didn't he start to design a program using the data as a basis?

Project Director: [Pause] I think he did.

Project Officer: That's not consistent. He focused on the K-2, not K-12.

Project Director: His emphasis has been at the lower levels but he has worked at the high school in Paperville and in Riverton.

Project Officer: Then I could safely say that there was no coordinated effort to get the program off the ground?

Project Director: There was no coordinated program.

Project Officer: (Laughs) If GAO came in, would they say the same thing?

Project Director: I guess so.

Project Officer: Whose fault is that?

Project Director: Both the project's and the schools'.

Project Officer: What about the Superintendent and the Project Director?

Project Director: I include myself in the project.

Project Officer: Are you saying that [the elementary coordinator] had no direction?

Project Director: We started working with teachers. Initially we found some things weren't acceptable to them. At the junior high there was no identification of the problem readers. In Riverton and Paperville there was no program extant and that led to the books for Woodington.

Project Officer: No one thought of a program K-12?

Project Director: No. The emphasis was on materials.

Project Officer: There was a need for coordinated program, but the expedient was chosen, a patchwork program.

This type of questioning, which involved the federal Project Officer's forcing the local Project Director to admit that little in the way of a comprehensive program had been started in any of the components, continued. During the course of the discussions, several issues were raised. One was the issue of "clout."

Project Officer: You should be thinking of ways to help the districts with their curriculum. ...How has your role evolved?

Project Director: Different than I expected it. Mostly it's office management, administration, not curriculum development as I was prepared for.

Project Officer: Do you give direction, or are you allowed to?

Project Director: With the coordinators, yes, but not in the buildings with the teachers.

Project Officer: Is it possible for you to have the clout that you need?

Project Director: We're not in a position to tell anyone anything.

Project Officer: Can [the Superintendent] be of help?

Project Director: Yes, but the building principals can be of more help.

Project Officer: Has [the Superintendent] helped you with clout to enable you to do your job?

Project Director: In this union a lot of autonomy is left at the building level. I think a lot of things, there is not a strong central administration, lot's of things are left to the building principal.

Another issue was Level I evaluation. The position was a half-time position during the first year (the Level I evaluator doubled as a substitute). The Project Officer expressed surprise when he heard the position was not full time and told the Project Director to have this position made full time during the second year.

Another topic that arose in the course of the discussion concerned the building trades proposal. The Project Officer's flat denial of a building trades program was to be reversed later in the second year when pressure for one became intense.

Finally, the Project Officer made several attempts to explain or describe his role for the Project Director. What is interesting here is his claim of non-interference, while, almost in the same breath, he tells the director to make Level I a full-time position and makes threats about the "hell" the locals might catch if the plan is not implemented.

For the Project Director's part, his response in many ways was a prolonged plea that he was not responsible for the situation that the Project Officer found. The original plan was too broad and ambitious; there was no groundwork, no program in the schools, for the ES project to take off from; the first year was a planning and developmental year, not an implementation year; he had no power to make the principals make their teachers participate in the project; and the problems and conflicts of the planning year were never really smoothed over or solved.

The Project Officer also met with the principals and coordinators. With both of these groups he heard essentially the same thing: the program was not going well. The principal from Riverton told him that he thought the project had lost some of the initial support for it in his building. The Project Director told all of them that they were going to have to write quarterly reports on project activities for inclusion in the Quarterly Report to Washington. This was something new.

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He also told them that he expected them to be candid and honest in their reports. With the Level I evaluator, he told him that he expected "a plan, damn quick" detailing how the project was going to be implemented and evaluated. He also told him that he would recommend that his position be made full time.[10]

Of all the visits during the first year, this one may have had the greatest impact on the local project. First, it led the Council to devise a way to make the Level I position, which was in the budget as a half-time position, full time for the second year. This was done by applying some of the unspent and unencumbered balance toward his salary. The Level I evaluator was given two immediate related tasks. These were to develop an evaluation plan for the project and to rewrite the proposal into a "plan" which would not only indicate the goals and objectives of the project, but would also outline the specific and measureable steps the project would take to reach this goal. Making this a full-time position met with some resistance and irritation from members of the Council.

The principals were in favor of taking a very hard line with Washington on the issue of making the Level I evaluator's position full time. The Superintendent's position was not stated so harshly, but he, too, favored a hard line with Washington. If they wanted the position to be full time, then Washington had to come across with the additional money. The main concern of the locals was public relations: adding another "administrator" to the project would further irritate important constituencies of the union's administrators: teachers, school board members, and community members. In the case of the principals, an additional concern may have been their irritation with the way the evaluator was hired and, in the case of the Riverton principal, strong doubts about the competence of the person.

The visit further upset the Project Director, and he began again talking of getting another job. He had a number of specific complaints about the Project Officer and the way that ES/Washington operated. A main complaint was that Washington appeared to be operating in an "off-the-cuff" manner without any planning or forethought. He cited as examples of this: the new reporting format which arrived by letter only several days before the Project Officer arrived on site, and the Project Officer's surprise at hearing that the Level I evaluator's position was only half time, which he felt Washington should have been aware of. As proof of the latter he showed me letters to Washington dated March 14, September 23, October 24, October 30, and November 15, as well as the third quarterly report which included the announcement of the position (dated January 18) and a copy of a memo to ES Council members (dated February 21), all of which contained specific references to the half-time evaluator position. He said: "Somewhere along the line they should have known it was half time. It shocked the hell out of them to find out it was a half-time position." Further, nothing preceded or followed the visits. He thought that the Project Officer should send a list of questions or issues he wanted addressed during the visit and then follow up the visit with reactions and suggestions. Instead, nothing happened which could relate the discussions to the subsequent project events.

A second major concern was the Project Officer's comments regarding governance. The Project Director said:

> I think he [the Project Officer] thinks we may have more power than in fact we have. He keeps going back to the governance thing. They accepted [the proposal] and I don't see a need for more people in it. If they didn't like it, they shouldn't have accepted it. I don't see any reason why this project should be set up any differently from other projects in the district. I don't see that more community involvement would make it work better. The same goes for the Woodington thing. I don't think anyone gave any thought that Woodington wasn't on it. If someone isn't happy with the situation, they should have paid attention to what was developing. They could have exerted more pressure in the planning year. [ES/Washington] can't leave people in total isolation and expect them to come up with what they want without telling them what they expect.... I would have no objection to directives from [the Project Officer], for instance, that we use X instrument in Level I. I don't see it happening, though it would be helpful.

The Superintendent was not in town during the Project Officer's visit and learned of his comments from the Assistant Superintendent and the Project Director. The Assistant Superintendent was not upset by the Project Officer's comments. In fact, the Assistant Superintendent reported that the Project Officer's main concern was with the lack of progress and planning during the year, with which the Superintendent sympathized. He said, however, that the Project Director took the criticisms of the project personally. For instance, the Superintendent said that, while the Project Director took the Project Officer's concern about the lack of attendance at workshops as a personal attack, the responsibility for this was his, the Superintendent's. The Superintendent also said that his discussion with the Project Director deteriorated into fault-finding with Washington, rather than trying to plan better for the future.

The Superintendent also indicated that he was going to have to be assertive about the project. He said that he would have to push the principals, especially the principal of Paperville High School, to be more cooperative in the project. They would have to make concerted efforts to integrate the project into their ongoing programs. He also said that, while the Project Director had done a good job in regard to reporting to Washington, he had to provide more visibility for himself in the schools and give his coordinators more direction and guidance. While the Superintendent's decision to provide more support and guidance for the project probably did not result solely from the Project Officer's visit, it is likely that the visit firmed his resolve to do this.

PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

As stated in the proposal, the psychological services component of the North Country ES project was designed to acquaint teachers "with the processes of establishing educational programs tailored to the needs of students," and to "create informal social interactions for North Country Union faculty."

Historically, psychological and counseling services for the schools and communities of North Country Union were provided by a regional mental health clinic located in Frenchtown, about 27 miles east of Paperville. Several years prior to the beginning of ES, conflict arose in that clinic which led to a change in its leadership, and eventually to the establishment of a new unit.

The new unit was small. In 1973 it had only one full-time service employee, the social worker who was its founder and director. Its part-time people included another social worker, a psychiatrist, and a school psychologist. The school psychologist was employed by a mental health agency in a neighboring state with which the New England State agency had a time-trading arrangement. In exchange for the services of the school psychologist, the neighboring state agency received the services of a social worker from the New England State unit. This time-trading arrangement put very definite limits on the availability of the school psychologist in New England State. In negotiating the contract for the school psychologist's services, the principals of North Country Schools expressed uneasiness about being shortchanged in the bargain. Specifically, there were several aspects of the arrangement that worried them: the possibility that incompatible schedules would lead to a teacher's dissatisfaction and/or a reduction of services to the North Country schools; the fear that the ES component activities would be subsumed under, rather than augmenting, already existing psychological services; and the necessity to provide general rather than case-specific services because of the teacher-training commitment within the ES project.

A number of meetings involving people from the schools and the agency were held to negotiate the contract. The first meeting was held in the middle of August. At that time the director of ES and the director of the agency met and signed the general contract for services. This specified the rate of payment ($50 per half day of service plus $10 expenses) and the amount of service (two workshops and 72 half days of meetings with teachers). The contract also specified the following objectives of the service.

- Develop and administer an internal evaluation strategy
- Develop an in-service workshop program for North Country Union faculty members
- Meet with and counsel K-12 teachers on either or both an individual or small group basis
- Make classroom visitations--as requested by classroom teachers

This meeting was followed by another meeting at the end of August during which the Director presented the Principals' preferences for visitations to the schools. A September meeting included all the administrators in the union as well as the Project Director; representing the agency were the Director, the part-time social worker, and the school psychologist. The meeting was divided into two parts, the first of which was a general discussion of the current situation of the agency and what this implied for service to the schools and the ES project. The second part involved only the ES director and people from the agency and was devoted to further negotiations over the visitation schedule. Much difficulty in reaching an agreement was encountered. Many school personnel advocated breaking relations with the agency, but the contract was finally negotiated through a unilateral decision by the Superintendent.

During the final meetings with the representatives of the agency, the Principals, in addition to setting up the visitation schedule, also told the agency representatives what the objectives of the program would be in their respective buildings; the Principals determined the content of the program. In two instances--Paperville High School and Riverton School--the teachers had no say in the program because their opinions and preferences were not even solicited. At Paperville Elementary School, the principal asked the teachers for their ideas, but received few and had to set up the program himself.

The objectives of psychological services varied in the different school buildings. At Riverton the objectives of the program were:

> To work with staff of the Riverton Public School in such a manner as will produce modifications in their behavior regarding improvement of their understanding of other human beings; the improvement of their interaction with other staff members and students; the improvement of classroom instruction in this school.

At Paperville Elementary School, the principal divided the program into three "phases":

> Phase I. Large group instruction--discussing of individualizing instruction in the elementary school with discussion in the areas of (a) an overview and objectives of individualized instruction (b) observing and understanding pupil behavior (c) diagnostic procedures (d) instruction and evaluation procedures.
>
> Phase II. Small group discussion by interest, subject or grade level to provide follow-up discussion on the above topics and how they related to the classroom teacher.
>
> Phase III. Provide time for individual teachers to meet with the psychologist to discuss various classroom procedures relating to individualized instruction. In some situations the psychologist may visit the classroom and provide follow-up discussion with the classroom teacher.

At Paperville High School the principal was concerned about communication problems among his faculty members. His program was designed to:

> provide a structure whereby the intersubject area teachers will have a greater opportunity (1) to share views, problems and solutions and (2) to communicate with each other--with the assistance of a feedback mechanism.

The principal divided the faculty into four groups of people who he thought were not communicating with each other. The psychologist was to meet with two of the groups each month.

The school psychologist began his meetings with the teachers on Wednesday, October 3, and met with the teachers in the different buildings throughout the year. Several events of note occurred during the year.

Midway through the school year the Principal of Paperville High School changed the composition of the group meetings with the psychologist. Originally, the groups were composed of faculty members whom the principal perceived to be not communicating. When it appeared to him that this approach was not working, he changed the groups so that they were composed of people from the same or similar academic areas; e.g., math and science. This upset the psychologist who said that this happened just when progress was occurring with the groups.

Shortly after the groups were reconstituted the psychologist received his most hostile reaction from the teachers at Paperville High School. At one meeting the hostility was open and he was called "a sponge" by a teacher and his work and the work of the program were openly denigrated.

On a more positive note, two joint meetings between the junior high and upper elementary teachers in Paperville and Woodington were held. They were initiated by the guidance counselor from the high school who was interested in facilitating the students' transition from elementary to high school. He and the psychologist acted as communication facilitators at the meetings. The discussions among the teachers indicated a surprising degree of ignorance of the policies and procedures used in the different schools. The teachers in the high school were unaware that the classes in the elementary school were not ability-grouped though the classes were departmentalized. And, in the various academic areas, the teachers found that there were some gaps in the presentation of material and ideas of which no one was aware. (In math, the 7th grade teacher found that decimals were not covered in the 6th grade, though she began her course with the assumption that the students already knew decimals.) While everyone agreed that this meeting was helpful and worthwhile in uncovering aspects of the curriculum that needed attention, there was no follow-up and nothing was done to remedy the deficiencies discovered.

What resulted from the provision of psychological services? According to the teachers who were the purported beneficiaries of the program, nothing at all. The psychological services were viewed as an unqualified failure, as the following teachers' comments indicate:

> I couldn't say they were very good. I'm glad we have the service but I didn't find his suggestions too helpful.
>
> I don't know what he was trying to do but it turned into gripe sessions...We thought he could come if we had problems in the classroom with specific children and he told us it [pyschological services] wasn't for that.
>
> I didn't get anything out of the meetings. People sat around and complained about things that were going wrong...It would have been helpful if I could have said: Here's _________, what do I do with him?
>
> I did participate in a couple or three of them [meetings]. It was a bullshit session as far as I was concerned. There was no direction.

> Not very worthwhile at all. I went there expecting to have an expert tell me something but he asked us what we wanted to do.
>
> It was useless last year. The group was too big and we discussed things for which there wasn't an answer.
>
> It's a little general. What we need is specific help with particular children.
>
> That was the biggest waste of time I've ever seen. Every one was a gripe session...I expected to learn ways you could help children in the classroom.
>
> I thought they lacked direction. It was a chance to rap but the raps were no different from the ones in the teachers' room.
>
> Everything was so general. It was good to discuss things but I don't know if anyone solved anything. They didn't pinpoint problems for us. It was after school which didn't help too.
>
> It was just a glorified gripe session. It was just to air our feelings and do our griping in there. We drew pictures of ourselves and of animals we'd like to be...It did nothing to help me as a teacher. I would have gotten more out of it if it solved some problems like a teachers' meeting does.
>
> I thought it was worthless. He never did anything for us.
>
> It should be eliminated completely. Only funds should be made available for a trained psychologist/educator to be hired by the district full-time to fit the needs of the schools.

The most positive statement about psychological services was:

> I found a couple helpful and a couple not very helpful. It depended on who was there.

The teachers' basic complaint was that the meetings were "a waste of time" because they did not deal with the real-life, practical issues that teachers face every day in the classroom. Teachers perceived a need for help in dealing with children who were behavioral problems, or who were not making satisfactory educational progress, or for whom they wanted to develop successful programs. It was for such reasons they saw potential value in the psychological services. And it was precisely in these matters that they did not and could not receive help from the psychologist.

Thus the psychological services component did not work well during its first year and ultimately everyone, including the administrators, recognized this. It did not deal with problems the teachers thought important because ES, following the counsel of the principals, set the program up so that it could not deal with the needs that teachers felt. The principals determined the content of the program in their buildings in most instances to deal with problems that they thought important. However, even if the teachers were consulted about the content of the program and did articulate their needs, the program would not have met these needs because the principals' distrust of the people from psychological services constrained them to set up a program which clearly differed from the one the clinic normally provided.

OUTDOOR EDUCATION

The outdoor education component had several aims. One was to increase students' awareness of the natural environment and of their relationship to it. Another, according to the proposal, was to use the natural environment to develop "skills in communication, decision-making, and problem solving, and develop a sense of SELF as related to social interaction situations." A third aim was to provide an outdoor site for community recreation. A final aim was to use a physical site to develop vocational skills of students by having them build shelters and camping facilities on the site.

The key element of the outdoor education component was the development of the physical sites which would function as outdoor education centers. Both sites were to be located in Riverton. The Town of Riverton donated the use of one site to the program; Paperville Papers Co. donated the use of the other. One, the Christie Road Site, was located in East Riverton about 10 miles from the schools in Paperville and about 14 miles from the school in North Riverton. The other site was located in the Rocky Stream area, about 10 miles from Paperville and Woodington and about 24 miles from North Riverton.

The overall aim was for students to develop the sites on weekend camping and hiking trips. The students were to map the sites, lay out nature trails, catalogue the flora and fauna of the sites, and delimit their various natural areas. They also were to construct shelters, outhouses, fireplaces, and picnic tables for use on day and overnight trips to the area. The latter activities would occur in conjunction with the vocational departments of Riverton School and Paperville High School and thereby integrate outdoor education with vocational education. When completed, use of the sites would be open to community members as well as to students. This would increase the area's recreational facilities.

The plans for the first year specified a number of field trips for students in all grades. Grades K-6 would take teacher-directed day trips to the sites or to other places in the immediate vicinity of the schools. Grades 7-12 would take a number of weekend hiking trips during the fall and spring. Preliminary site development work would occur as a result of the latter trips, with the actual construction of shelters and facilities beginning in the fall of 1974. Faculty training and curriculum work would occur in the summer of 1973 in preparation for the activities of the school year.

A number of things had to be done during the summer to prepare for fall program activities. Staff had to be chosen and trained, equipment had to be chosen and purchased, and curriculum materials had to be created.

The first task was assembling an outdoor education staff. The principals of Paperville High School and Riverton School asked staff members who they knew were interested in hiking and camping to join the outdoor education staff. The principal of Riverton School was chosen as coordinator. He had been active during the planning year, was a member of the "core group" which had written the first proposal, and was a strong backer of outdoor education. Unlike the other coordinators' positions, the outdoor education position was voluntary.

The coordinator's conception was that it would involve primarily hiking experiences. He did not want to plan specific objectives and activities into every trip. Rather, he wanted the trips to be "an experience where the kids could find out that they could do all these things (hiking, camping, acting responsibly)." The actual experience of hiking, setting up a camp, and doing the various chores (gathering wood, cooking, cleaning up, etc.) required were what he regarded as important.

Though his staff went along with this conception, not everyone was totally in agreement with it. One individual wanted to involve the students in more exciting outdoor activities. He was interested in mountain climbing and white water canoeing. The danger involved precluded them, however. Another person wanted more structure to the program. She wanted some specific objectives and activities planned into each trip. Her feelings on this did not surface until later in the year.

During the summer the outdoor education staff participated in three training activities. Two were under the aegis of the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC), and the staff learned a number of hiking and camping skills. The other activity took place with six students at a nearby nature center. Here two staff members learned about ecology and ways of teaching these concepts to students while in a natural setting.

One result of the summer activities was a revision of the list of equipment that the component was going to purchase. The first list of equipment to be purchased included a number of heavy items: gasoline lanterns and stoves, heavy cast iron frying pans, etc. After the second AMC training experience the equipment list was extensively revised. The people from AMC told the outdoor education staff to choose lightweight equipment if the main emphasis of the program was to be backpacking. The AMC staff even recommended specific types and brands of equipment.

The other summer activity was curriculum work. According to the plan submitted to Washington, the staff was to prepare a K-12 outdoor education curriculum during a two-week workshop. To help them with their work, the Project Director gave the outdoor education committee a format to use. The format was designed to show how outdoor education related to regular classroom activities, and it emphasized how normal classroom lessons and concepts could be taught using the outdoors.

The materials that the outdoor education staff prepared did not constitute a complete K-12 curriculum. For one thing, they only dealt with grades 7-12. This reflected the fact that the staff consisted of high school teachers and had as its main agenda creating a backpacking program, not an in-class program. Further, the materials were not exhaustive in the sense that they dealt with every skill and concept taught in grades 7-12. Rather, the materials were more illustrative of the ways teachers could use hiking and camping trips to teach their subject matters.

Like the other components of the ES project, outdoor education was introduced to the teachers at an orientation just prior to the beginning of school. In addition to specifics about the program (number of trips, procedures for setting up day trips, etc.), the teachers were told that their participation in the component's activities was voluntary. According to the coordinator, teachers would become involved in outdoor education

> by a snowball effect where more and more people become involved in the program. The staff would go on hikes and camping with other teachers and make themselves available to them. They (the other teachers) would make contact with us and we would work the program out with them. We hope the camping experiences will lead to other activities.

Unfortunately, the strategy did not work very well. In the fall almost all of the people who participated in the program were outdoor education staff members. The one exception to this was a biology teacher from Paperville who took several of his high school classes on day field trips which were assisted by the outdoor education component. Participation of non-outdoor education staff members in the spring was no more widespread either.

While the strategy for involving other teachers in the program was not very successful, other factors also contributed to the problems the component had starting up. A major one was purchasing the hiking and camping equipment. As noted above, the original list of equipment had been revised as a result of the summer training activities. Purchase of the equipment was delayed because Washington did not approve the project budget or authorize it to spend money for supplies or equipment of any sort until late September, despite the fact that the revised proposal and budget were submitted to Washington in the middle of August, and despite prodding and concern by the director.

The delay in purchasing the equipment also affected development of the Christie Road Site.[11] No trips were taken to the site, because by the time the equipment had been purchased, bear and bird hunting season had begun, and the coordinator and ES director decided to camp in the nearby National Forest using established hiking trails and camping areas where there would be much less danger from hunters.

Another problem the component faced in starting up was the outdoor education coordinator's failure to begin work on creating a comprehensive in-class outdoor education program. As mentioned above, the coordinator's position was voluntary, and after cold weather precluded any more weekend trips he ceased functioning as a coordinator. From the very beginning of the year he experienced difficulties in meeting his teaching, coaching, and coordinating responsibilities. He had to ensure that building principals and the Project Director knew about the trips and approved of their itinerary, leaders, chaperones if any, and students. He also had to arrange transportation, equipment, and food for the trips, and he had to make sure all of the camping equipment was returned after each trip. In the case of day trips, the coordinator had to arrange for an ES substitute to cover the classes of the teacher leading the trip. These duties were time-consuming and could only be done during the coordinator's free time which, because of his coaching responsibilities, was more limited than most teachers'.

After the coordinator stopped coordinating outdoor education, the component was left leaderless. The Project Director made several unsuccessful attempts to have the coordinator begin working with the outdoor education curriculum. Finally, in January the coordinator resigned. In his letter of resignation he said that he was planning to go back to school in September and thought that program continuity would be furthered if he resigned and another coordinator was appointed.

In the interval between the end of October and January when the coordinator resigned, the Project Director tried to take up the slack created by the lack of leadership of the component and to start development of a total outdoor education program. With cold weather precluding any more weekend trips, he and the ES substitutes began working on creating some outdoor education curriculum materials.

During the fall and winter the ES substitutes developed a number of classroom "kits" in outdoor education. These were literally cardboard boxes filled with materials that the subs prepared for use in the classrooms. The kits contained pictures of animals or plants taken from magazines like National Geographic or Ranger Rick which were labelled and pasted on construction paper. One kit was more elaborate and contained a variety of activities, puzzles, and word games which teachers could use with students. The activity kit was "pretested" in the upper elementary room at Woodington School whose teacher had joined the outdoor education staff and was very interested in the environment and outdoor education. After receiving his favorable comments, the various kits were placed in each elementary school. Some use was made of the kits, especially by those teachers with a pre-existing interest in the subject.

The Project Director prepared a series of units dealing with the environment and nature study. They were designed primarily as examples of units that elementary teachers might develop when they created the outdoor education curriculum. Some of the units were tried out in the 5th and 6th grades in Paperville Elementary School. An attempt was made to evaluate the units. Students were tested on their knowledge of the subjects contained in the units before and after exposure to the three-week series of units. Comparison of the means of the pre- and post-tests indicates a substantial increase in students' scores, although no one in the project did a systematic analysis of the results and the units were not used in any other classrooms in the Union.

As a result of his increased involvement with the outdoor education program, the Project Director developed a number of ideas for the component which he began articulating in January 1974. One was the idea of pilot groups. This was articulated in a memo he sent to his coordinators in early January, several days after the original outdoor education coordinator resigned. It proposed restricting the scope of the project's activities for the rest of the year to manageable levels:

> It is stated in the ES proposal that the Outdoor Education component will create an instructional program (both in-class and field studies) which related directly to several areas of a given curriculum. Rather than attempt to develop an instructional program all along the K-12 curriculum it would be more realistic to select a segment of that total population (e.g., grades 7-9). Daytime field trips are applicable to all grades; (sic) K-12, while weekend trips are for all secondary students. The fact that we are attempting to serve all secondary students creates the initial problem of selection. Who will be included? Who will be excluded? What is the rationale for selection? If a clearly defined pilot group was chosen then a program would be developed--resulting in the involvement of all group student (sic) in all prescribed activities.

The memo pointed towards scaling down curriculum development activities and the number of students participating in weekend camping experiences. Further specification of exactly how the program would be scaled down awaited the appointment of a new outdoor education coordinator.

On January 22nd the ES/Washington Project Officer made a site visit to North Country. During his visit the Director told him that the coordinator resigned and said that one reason why so little had been accomplished in outdoor education up to that point was because the coordinator's position was voluntary. The Project Officer (the third one North Country had had since September) was surprised to learn that the position was voluntary. He told the Director and the Superintendent that outdoor education was a "major component" of the North Country Union's project and this necessitated a full-time coordinator. He ordered the Director and Superintendent to make this a full-time position for the second year and they agreed to do this.

(In actuality, however, the coordinator's position was not made full time until the third year of the project, the main reason being that Washington did not formally approve making the position full time until late in the second year of the project.)

As soon as the new coordinator assumed his role, he and the ES Director began meeting with members of the outdoor education staff. These meetings occurred in February and March and were for the purpose of planning activities for the spring and discussing the idea of pilot groups for the weekend camping trips. Acceptance of the idea of using pilot groups was one change. Originally, the plan was to take as many high school students as possible on weekend trips. Now, in accord with the idea of pilot groups, the plan was to choose about 10 high school students from Paperville and Riverton to participate in all of the weekend camping trips. They were to function as "guinea pigs." By doing this the Director thought that the staff could find out whether the weekend trips increased students' ability to function as responsible members of groups or increased students' knowledge of the outdoors. A second change was the decision to set specific learning objectives for each weekend trip.

The Project Director was also working with the coordinator in expanding the scope of the outdoor education program. The Director had been involved with outdoor education since the fall and had come up with the idea of changing the program from an outdoor education to an environmental education program. He thought that the original conception of the program which emphasized weekend, overnight experiences for high school students was too narrow to allow for the development of the in-class aspect of the program or for experiences for non-high school students. Washington's insistence that all components be comprehensive, however, made a K-12 program mandatory. The Director thought that expanding the scope of the component to environmental education was a way to make the component comprehensive.

These ideas crystallized in a memo sent to outdoor education staff members and the new coordinator. Four new objectives for the component which would change the emphasis of the component from outdoor to environmental education, were proposed:

1. Develop individuals (sic) awareness of the fact that man is an inseparable interrlationship with his several natural/ social environments.
2. Develop the individual's understanding(s) of the interrelations among ecosystems and natural resources.
3. Develop the individual's understanding(s) of man's environmental problems and the decision-making skills required to solve them.
4. Develop the individual's attitudes which will foster a positive action relation to the environment.

These objectives superceded the original objectives of the component, most of which dealt with the outdoor site and hiking and camping experiences. The original objectives became subobjectives of the component.

Having expanded the scope of the component to environmental education and changed the structure and function of the weekend trips, the coordinator and director turned to other things. One was the development of the environmental education curriculum. The coordinator, working with the director, developed a list of conceptual units around which to organize environmental education activities. The overall concept for the program was "living things are interdependent with one another and their environments." The areas of study were 1) conservation education, 2) outdoor education, 3) social environments, and 4) natural environments. Each study area had its own "conceptual theme" or themes and objectives. For example, for conservation education these were:

A. Conceptual Theme:

   Earth's resources are generally finite.

   1. Objective #1: To teach the meaning of natural resources and conservation.
   2. Objective #2: To teach the importance of wise use of our natural resources.

B. Conceptual Theme:

   People need to work constantly to conserve natural resources.

   1. Objective #1: To help children discover that they have a responsibility for the conservation of natural resources.
   2. Objective #2: To show the students some ways in which they can preserve the natural environment.

In conjunction with the list of concepts and study areas, the coordinator purchased a large collection of books, pamphlets, and film strip sets dealing with environmental education.

The coordinator also prepared activities that teachers could use with students in each of the four study areas. Examples of activities for each of the areas are as follows:

Conservation Education

1. List all the things in the room made from trees. Decide what can be done to conserve each one.
2. Have two jars of clean water. To one, add dust, dirt, chalk dust, etc. Ask if dirty water is still good to drink. How do rivers and streams become polluted (explain the word). How can we help (clean up along streams and rivers, etc.).

Outdoor Education

1. Interview old people in your community to learn about changes in the local environment during their life time. Include such things as changes in number of people, new industries and their impact, scientific and technological discoveries and changes in transportation systems. What effect has each of these had on soil, water, wildlife and people?
2. Using a still or a movie camera (also available at ES project office) take pictures of the things in your town that the students think need improving. Discuss these things and talk about the ways in which they hurt the social environment. Talk about the ways in which they can be improved or remediated. Perhaps the students can be instrumental in improving some of these problems.

Natural Environments

1. "Adopt" a tree. Observe it in all seasons. See how it changes. Learn what kind of tree it is. Do you ever see any animals in it? Observe seeds on the tree. Try planting one in a classroom.
2. What plants and animals are found at school, in the neighborhood or in the community? Include weeds, rats, domestic animals, fish, birds, insects, earthworms and ants. How do they affect people? How do people affect them?

The curriculum materials were combined with forms and procedures required for day and weekend trips to form an Environmental Education Sourcebook. This was distributed to elementary teachers in May 1974. It formed the basis for the summer environmental education workshop in which teachers were to write classroom lessons based on the concepts outlined in the Sourcebook.

The spring weekend trips did not go well. Because of rainy, cold weather, there was only one weekend camping experience in May. One result was that the staff was unable to test the feasibility or utility of the idea of "pilot groups." Ultimately the idea was dropped from the program.

The school year ended with only several teachers and a handful of students participating in any way in the environmental education activities. The idea of developing an outdoor site had been dropped, at least temporarily.

A number of changes occurred in the component during the year. The scope of the program was broadened to environmental education. This provided the basis for changing the structure and function of the day and weekend trips and for creating an in-class program. Steps were also set in motion to remedy the problems that had been created by having a voluntary coordinator. During the year one of the substitutes functioned as interim coordinator and plans were made to make the environmental education coordinator's position paid during the next school year.

From the director's and interim coordinator's standpoint, the year was one of program development, not program implementation. Where possible, as in the case of the overnight trips, attempts were made to implement activities and affect students. However, for the reasons discussed above, little of this was possible and they found themselves concentrating their efforts on creating the basis for a comprehensive program.

Redefining the year as one of program development and continued planning, rather than one of program implementation, had unanticipated consequences for the project as will be shown later. The reasons for doing this were never effectively communicated to teachers, administrators, or the federal project officer.

LANGUAGE ARTS

Language arts, like career/vocational education, was an area in which teachers and administrators strongly agreed improvement was needed. Concern about the reading and writing difficulties of the students of North Country Union, was long-standing (see Chapter 3), and a number of attempts to remedy or ameliorate them had been made in the past. None had been noticeably successful. The language arts component was another attempt to deal with problems in this area. The main effort in this direction was to be the creation of a"continuous, sequential, integrated" program matched to students' needs in the language arts. As with other ES components, only tentative steps were taken toward the realization of this goal.

According to the final ES plan, language arts activity for the first year would consist primarily of "the introduction of the revised K-12 language arts curriculum[12] into the classrooms in North Country Union. To do this required hiring a language arts coordinator and appointing "language arts leaders" from each of the schools in the Union. The language arts leaders, consisting of both elementary and secondary teachers, together with the coordinator, would constitute a committee which would "develop a K-12 curriculum overview and write curriculum guide outlines" during the summer. In September the coordinator and committee would present these materials to the faculty. During the school year the language arts coordinator would work with teachers and committee members to introduce the materials into classrooms and to systematically evaluate them.

In early June the principals appointed six language arts leaders from all of the schools in North Country Union. Only one of the teachers had participated in any of the activities of the planning year. As a result, most of the teachers were unfamiliar with the ES project and the language arts component. Two teachers, an elementary teacher from Riverton and an English teacher from Paperville High School, who had been very active during the planning year and had been members of the core group, were deliberately excluded from the committee. Both had expressed a desire to participate in the language arts activities. The elementary teacher wanted to be the language arts coordinator. The administrators, however, did not like or respect these teachers, in part because of their activities during the planning year, and in part because they found these teachers difficult to work with in their buildings. Both teachers were disappointed at their exclusion. One said: "We felt like we weren't wanted anymore after we had done all that work [during the planning year]." Neither displayed any interest in or enthusiasm for the program after his/her exclusion.

To hire a language arts coordinator, the administrators decided to look outside the Union because they did not think any of the local teachers were qualified for the position. One teacher whom the administrators thought technically competent was rejected because she had a very noticeable speech impediment which limited her effectiveness in leading groups or committees. Various placement agencies were notified of the position vacancy, and an applicant from Boston was hired almost immediately. Despite the concern of the central office staff that more applicants be screened, the principals pressed for a quick decision to get the language arts component moving.

The first language arts activity occurred in June, before the language arts coordinator was hired. This was a language arts workshop which took place in southern New England State. The members of the language arts committee attended the workshop. All agreed that it had been interesting and worthwhile and provided them with some ideas which were useful for their later work.

During July and August, the committee began work on the curriculum revision. They were aided in this by the Principal of Paperville Elementary School and the Project Director who began work in early July. (The language arts coordinator did not begin work until late July.) The first two weeks of the workshop were devoted to writing a curriculum overview. According to the overview:

> The Language Arts are the receptive activities of looking, reading, and listening; and the expressive activities of writing and speaking. The keystone of both reception and expression is thinking.

Creating a "success-oriented Language Arts curriculum" necessitated consideration of the following characteristics of children and the way they learned:

> Children learn at different rates and levels.
>
> Children learn through experiences.
>
> Children learn through their environment.
>
> Children learn through their interests.
>
> Children learn through their use of their senses.
>
> Children learn through a variety of activities.
>
> Children need to feel that they are accepted in the classroom as individuals and as members of the group.
>
> Children need success.
>
> Children need to be loved and understood.
>
> Children need to be respected as individuals.
>
> Children need the opportunity to participate in the learning process.
>
> Children need a sense of responsibility for his (sic) own education.
>
> Children need a positive self-image.

It defined a self-image as:

> A self-image is the child's perception of his own behavior and the behaviors of other people toward him.

Finally, it listed the following "approaches" that would have to be in a language arts curriculum.

> Learning should not be isolated within the school but must be involved with the community.
>
> The Language Arts curriculum must be comprehensive, adaptable, continuous, sequential and integrated to provide for all students K-12.
>
> Individual differences must be recognized and accepted and the instruction, with the student's cooperation, must be paced at his own rate. The student's experience and knowledge must be utilized.
>
> The Language Arts curriculum should aim at the development of life-long learners.
>
> Language Arts involves helping the student to classify, order, interpret, and communicate his experiences through proficient use of language.

> Learning necessitates reinforcement and integration, and teachers must build upon the knowledge the students bring with them. The process of learning and transfer of learning must be emphasized over a final product.
>
> Our Language Arts Curriculum should aim to develop a sense of individual responsibility and accountability.
>
> A variety of techniques, materials, methods, and approaches must be used.
>
> Basic texts and anthologies are resources rather than the course of study.
>
> The process of inquiry into language is what the student learns and takes away.
>
> Our curriculum chould (sic) include specific ideas for approaches and materials for different needs and for different levels of student ability.
>
> Provision should be made for extensive independent reading and writing.

The latter four weeks of the summer workshop were devoted to writing the curriculum guide. An immediate problem the group confronted was finding a format for the material. This, in turn, raised a larger issue for some members of the group: for whom were they writing the guide, themselves or Washington? According to several members of the group, a great deal of time was spent discussing the format to be used in writing the curriculum guide. One teacher said:

> It was very frustrating trying to get through all the paperwork. We were trying to please Washington, not ourselves. [Another teacher] and I were constant critics of this. The group lacked any leadership. No one was asking 'How's this going to affect the kids?' They just wanted to get something down on paper to please Washington.

Another person said that disagreement over the format of the materials led the new director to state that it did not matter what the group put on paper so long as Washington approved it. In other words, the work was being done for Washington, not for the local project.

The committee managed to produce two documents. One was called "Writing through Environment," the other "Looking through Media." Both consisted of a number of objectives for each grade, activities designed to achieve the objective, materials needed for the activities, the relation between the activities and other subject areas, and the means of evaluating the specific activities. The latter two categories were designed to show Washington that the language arts were comprehensive and integrated with other subject areas. An example for each of the documents is presented in Figure 2.

The language arts coordinator participated irregularly in writing the overview and curriculum guide. According to the project Director, she was present on-site to work with the language arts committee only six times between the end of July when she was hired and the end of August when she "resigned." After the language arts committee stopped meeting in August, the language arts coordinator disappeared: she left North Country Union without telling anyone that she was leaving or where she was going. When she left, she also took the materials that the committee had developed. Frantic attempts were made to locate her, and eventually she was persuaded to resign formally and to return the language art materials.

The members of the language arts committee presented the materials to the teachers during the September 4 orientation meeting. Five objectives for language arts were stressed. These were accountability of students, self-pacing for students, a program related to the needs of students and the community, a success-oriented program, and one that promoted life-long educational involvement of students. A key message from the discussions of the material and the program, however, was that the teachers did not have to use the materials if they did not want to. Witness the following interchange between two members of the language arts committee and a teacher.

> Teacher: What do you want us to do with it [language arts materials]?
>
> Language Arts Committee Member #1: You don't have to use them, though we hope you will. We want you to help us use it.
>
> Language Arts Committee Member #2: You can add or develop things for the curriculum. The coordinator will correlate the things that are added to the curriculum.

Figure 2

LANGUAGE ARTS MATERIALS: TWO EXAMPLES

Looking through Media
(Intermediate, 5-7)

To develop word meanings through context.	Observe weather on a particular day. Follow by starging a vocabulary list about weather itself or one's reaction to different types of weather. Use the new vocabulary, tell or write stories, plays, poems, reports in which the weather plays an important part.	Newspapers, TV weather reports.	Science Vocational Education	Pre-test Post-test Teacher observation of increasing vocabulary in the students' respective areas.

Writing through
Environment (Grade 10)

To have the students shift from the 3rd person singlar to 3rd person plural-thus from and individual to a group	Have them write a narrative about the development of a trend or situation that took place in a group or community--a natural environment. The works are written again discussed in small groups and generally by the class. Constantly during these activities the teacher will work individually with students who have problems with puctuation, sentence construction, and spelling.	Paper Pens	Social studies Science Career Education	The group process of editing and rewriting.

Teacher: If you don't use it, how will it become consecutive and integrated?

Language Arts Committee Member #2: That's the coordinator's job.

Language Arts Committee Member #1: We'll all be working on it with you for the next five years.

Language Arts Committee Member #2: If you don't use it there must be a good reason. There is no language art curriculum now. We want input from you so we can make one.

As the interchange indicates, no one had any clear-cut idea of how an "integrated and consecutive" curriculum would come about if the teachers did not have to use the materials. The glib response "That's the coordinator's job" was not encouraging.

The French teacher from Paperville High School complained to members of the language arts committee that the students did not know grammar. He asked:

Do you give them grammatical analysis?

Language Arts Committee Member: I give them a basis for grammar and vocabulary.

French Teacher: In what grades?

Language Arts Committee Member: Fifth, sixth and seventh ... Our process is to make students accountable for learning things themselves.

This implicit questioning of the adequacy of language instruction in Paperville High School is important because later it impeded the ability of the language arts coordinator (yet to be hired) to work with the staff of Paperville High School.

Thus, the language arts component began the year in disarray. It lacked a coordinator or any coherent idea of how it was to develop a "continuous, sequential, and integrated" language arts program.

The next language arts activity was a workshop on October 6. Teachers, aides, parents, and students were sent notices inviting them to discuss the language arts materials and their use in the classroom. Howeven, fewer than half of the teachers and an even smaller percentage of the aides, parents, and students came. Two members of the language arts committee did not come. Those who came were paid $25 by the ES project. The director was not pleased with the turnout, as my notes of a conversation with him indicate.

> I asked [the director] how the language arts workshop went. He said that those who went thought it was good. He said that of the 45 invited, only 19 showed up. He said that the turnout was disappointing. He said that he thought that it was the teachers' way of telling [the Experimental Schools project staff] that Saturdays were their own time. I asked him if he thought that the teachers got together and decided not to come. He said that he knew what went on in the teachers' rooms so he did in fact think that they did collude on it. He said that if they had made it mandatory, [the teachers] would have 'bitched'. The teachers who went were paid, but this was not announced because the project did not want to buy compliance. He said that teachers will go to workshops that are out of town on their own but not ones here if they are not mandatory.

Though disappointed with the workshop, the Project Director put the best light on it, saying that the workshop allowed the program to "identify a core group of interested teachers with whom we can work."

Though the overall reaction to the workshop was favorable, as the director indicated, some teachers' comments indicated potential problems for language arts. One teacher wrote, in response to a question asking about her use of the curriculum materials prepared during the summer, "Up to this point I have not used them or become familiar enough with them to make comments." Another wrote in response to a question asking about other areas for ES project to stress:

> What are we coming up with that we didn't have before? I feel at a loss as far as knowing what has been done before, what are we supposed to be doing now or when (sic) it is intended to go in the future!

The search for a new language arts coordinator began soon after the first one resigned because the administrators in the Union were concerned that little progress in language arts would occur until a new coordinator was hired. One problem in attracting specialists in language arts, according to the Director, was that the position was only funded for two years; it did not offer any permanancy to applicants. The director narrowed the field down to five applicants he thought best qualified and presented their credentials to the ES council. He wanted to continue looking for candidates as did two of the principals, but the Superintendent and elementary coordinator argued that a prolonged search was not likely to produce any better qualified candidates and would only delay progress in the component. The council chose three of the five to come for interviews. Only two came, one of whom was hired. This occurred in the middle of October and the person began working in late October.

The new coordinator was a former elementary school principal with 20 years of experience in schools in New England State and a neighboring state. At the time of his application, he was unemployed. He had resigned from a principalship in June. He said he resigned the position because he became "fed up with all the bullshit" that arose after the composition of the school board changed from liberal-moderate to very conservative. He had intended to leave education altogether and had explored a number of othter alternatives, but found out that all he really knew and could do was education. He was not very committed to the coordinator's position. He told me in early November that he was looking into several other jobs, any one of which he would take if it were offered to him.

The new coordinator began his job by doing two things. First, he went around and met all of the language arts teachers to find out their concerns and problems. Second, he undertook a survey of the existing language arts programs and materials in the schools. He did not try to follow up on the curriculum materials that had been developed during the summer because he did not want to put "any more burdens" on teachers than they already had.

His survey of existing materials and programs produced a surprising finding--neither Riverton nor Woodington had any coherent, formal language arts program. Woodington had basal readers that were bought in the 1950's which were not even used by the 4-6th grade teacher who relied instead on paperback books to teach reading. Riverton had a number of different reading series in the building, but it seemed that each grade was using a different series. He found this situation incomprehensible. He said "If I didn't see it, I wouldn't have believed it was possible."

In talking with teachers he found that the second grade teacher in Riverton needed help with her class; she had a class entirely composed of non-readers. According to several teachers, this class's first grade teacher, who no longer taught at Riverton, did not teach the children how to read. When asked how this could happen, they said that she was a good disciplinarian who closed her classroom door and played games with the children. Because there were no complaints from parents, the principal had not interfered.

The new language arts coordinator asked the Project Director for permission to use one of the ES project substitutes to work individually with students from this class. Permission was given, in part because the substitutes had little to do and wanted to do some teaching. As a result, a substitute went to Riverton School three times a week and worked individually with students from the second grade class on reading exercises.

The coordinator also instituted a diagnostic reading testing program in the elementary grades intended to indicate specific areas of weakness and to form the basis for remedial actions. He personally administered the Gates-McGinty Reading Test to all of the elementary students in the Union in order to avoid alienating teachers.

The results of the tests at each school were given to the teachers of that school and to the administrators in the Union. He deliberately avoided giving between-school comparisons to teachers in order to avoid any implications about teacher competence. The testing results generally indicated that the students in Paperville Elementary School were reading at the national norm, while the students from Woodington and Riverton were reading well below grade level. As the Riverton results showed, the students started off below grade level (the first grade students were about two months below grade level), and the gap grew as they progressed in school (Table 9).

Table 9

RESULTS OF THE GATES-McGINTY TEST: FALL WINTER 1973-74

RIVERTON

Grade	Speed & Accuracy		Vocabulary		Comprehension		Composite
	Percentile	Gr.L.	%tile	Gr.L.	%tile	Gr.L.	%tile
1			31	1.3	19	1.3	13
2			18	1.6	10	1.6	16
3			27	3.0	16	2.6	24
4	21	3.8	31	4.0	10	3.0	18

Note: At time of testing Grade level should be at .5 above the grade tested.

The highest score was only in the 60th percentile, something the language coordinator had not thought possible. A remedial reading program was also established for seventh grade students at Paperville High School in the Spring term. The coordinator met with the English department teachers and the principal to explore ways the program could help them. Some teachers were having trouble with poor readers and behavior problems. One of the ES substitutes was chosen to teach remedial reading one period a week. Unfortuantely, both the ES substitutes and the language arts coordinator felt that the program was just "window dressing" since seventh grade was too late to correct serious reading problems.

The new language arts coordinator was also involved in the purchase of reading series for Riverton School, Woodington School, and Paperville High School. He had recommended the adoption of reading series by Riverton and Woodington schools to remedy the deficiencies he saw there.

The impetus for purchasing textbooks at Paperville High School came from the principal who was dissatisfied with the existing English curriculum and wanted to change it. The English curriculum at Paperville High School beyond the sophomore year had consisted of mini-courses. Because of the low reading and writing levels of students at Paperville, it was decided that a curriculum overview would be developed, the objective of which was to change the curriculum to meet the needs of the students, and to codify the curriculum and the materials used therein. Although this idea met with much resistance on the part of the English teachers who were defensive about these criticisms, the principal decided to take advantage of the availability of ES funds to purchase new reading books, as had been done in Woodington and Riverton.

The decision to purchase a reading series for Woodington School was made by the elementary coordinator who sent a memo to the Project Director stating that the project would purchase the Scott Foresman reading series for grades 1-6 which was already used in Paperville Elementary School. The director was irritated by this memo because he felt that the elementary coordinator was overstepping his bounds by making such decisions and telling the Director what to do. Unbeknownst to the Director, however, was the fact that the Superintendent was becoming concerned about the progress of the project and had asked the elementary coordinator (who was to become assistant superintendent at the Union Board meeting in May) to get the project going. Further confusion and dissatisfaction arose around the issue of district vs. project responsibility with regard to purchasing textbooks. The Project Director assumed that ES would supply only supplementary materials, but much to everyone's surprise, Washington approved the purchase of the reading series for the Woodington School.

Several extenuating circumstances led to the purchase of books and the implementation of changes in Riverton School. One was growing disenchantment with the school administration. The elementary coordinator felt that the teachers were losing their commitment and their concern for discipline and learning. There was further dissatisfaction with the guidance counselor, who was held responsible for much of the chaos in the school. He had instituted the use of group techniques and of a contract system which allowed students to roam the halls during free periods. In February the guidance counselor was hospitalized for an extended period, and the principal was accepted to graduate school and began spending more and more time in Boston.

Because of these conditions, as well as some complaints from community members, the superintendent assigned the elementary coordinator the task of preparing a list of changes that would be instituted in Riverton the next year. High among the changes was elimination of the contract system and closer supervision of both students and teachers by the principal. The main elements of the memorandum were aimed at the guidance counselor (it was begun before he had the breakdown), the principal, and a social studies teacher, all of whom were seen to be primarily responsible because of their attitudes, philosophy, and instructional methods for the chaos that was caused by the high school students.

The elementary coordinator's list of changes was ready when the principal and social studies teacher resigned to attend graduate school. By this time, the guidance counselor had also resigned. The elementary coordinator later said that their resignations made it "the easiest revolution" he was ever involved in.

The Riverton School budget was presented to the voters in March. An attempt was made to cut the budget by $20,000 which failed. Then an attempt was made to accept the budget as presented by the School Board and it too failed to receive enough votes to pass. On the third attempt, a teacher called for a $7,500 budget cut and this time the vote passed. One item cut from the budget was money for the reading series the language arts coordinator recommended, to be used instead for a self-evaluation which the school had to undertake as part of its ten-year accreditation, which was coming up the next school year. When asked about purchasing the books, the Superintendent is reported to have replied that ES would buy them. The language arts coordinator was not happy with this decision, as my fieldnotes indicate.

> After the meeting to choose a reading series, (see below), the language arts coordinator who had seen [the principal of Riverton School], told me: 'There isn't any money in the budget for the books. They took it out for the goddam evaluation. I had them put in $250 per grade for books. You want to know where the money's coming from? Guess. I said: 'ES?". He said: 'Right, they said it's language arts, let ES pay for it.''

The actual decision as to which series to buy was left to the teachers and language arts coordinator. Though the teachers were nominally given the choice, the language arts coordinator actually made the decision with their unenthusiastic acquiescence.

Once it became clear that the Superintendent thought the ES project should buy the reading books for the schools, the director prepared a justification for the purchases and a request to transfer funds from one budget category to another, both of which had to be submitted to Washington for their approval in the quarterly report. The Project Director met with the Superintendent in early May to discuss ordering the books at Paperville and Riverton (the Woodington book request had already been sent in with the first quarterly report of 1974 and had been approved by Washington). The meeting dealt with two issues--was there enough money for all of the books, and could the purchases be justified to Washington: Following are some notes of the meeting:

> The Director told the Superintendent that he [the Director] had to send to ES/Washington a request for transfer of money and a little more elaborate justification for purchasing Paperville's books. The Superintendent said that he wanted to be sure that ES had the money for the books and had an adequate justification for the purchase. The Director told him that the principal of Paperville High School should fill in the justification for the particular books that were chosen. The Superintendent asked whether ES would have enough money to purchase the books for Riverton after purchasing the books for Woodington and Paperville. The Director said that $6,000 could easily be pulled out of the budget for purchasing the books. Regarding justifying the project he said that the goal of creating a 'continuous, integrated curriculum was so vague as to be capable of justifying just about anything.' He said that as soon as he received the justification for the particular books from the principal from Paperville, he would send in the total requests, including Riverton's, as a total language arts program for the two schools and show how ES would complete it.

Though it was clear by the first week in May that ES would be asked to purchase materials for Paperville and Riverton, the actual "decision" to do so did not occur until the end of May when the ES Council met to discuss purchasing the books, among other things. Notes on the discussion of the book purchases are presented below.

Project Director: He opened the meeting with the lanugage arts requests. He said that the high school rationale for books has not changed. '[Principal of Paperville High School] owes us an additional rationale for this'

Superintendent: Let's turn to Riverton's request until [the Principal of Paperville High School] gets here.

Project Director: In addition to [the language arts coordinator's] comments on the need for a reading series in Riverton, the board also wants us to purchase the material. Scott Foresman would allow grouping of students and ongoing skills development. The inclusion of a supplemental phonics system, which [the language arts coordinator] recommended, would cost $118 above and beyond the cost of the Scott Foresman materials.

Assistant Superintendent: Did [the Project Officer who had recently visited North Country Union] have any comments on this?

Project Director: No, he didn't have any specific comments about this but I think he is less than happy about a text series being put into the school as an example of program progress. I told him that that program [the language arts program in Riverton] had a basic need for materials which the project, teachers, and school board had identified.

Superintendent: These requests should have been identified as program needs. It is a sequential program that has individual characteristics. We can justify the series as part of the program. It's not the program, only a reading program that is part of the language arts program. It is sequential, individualized, and system-wide. It's not the program.

Project Director: I told [the project officer] that you have to have something to work with before you can develop a full-fleged language arts program. Once you get the program, you can move to individualization within the context of the program.

Superintendent to Principal of Paperville Elementary School: What do you have here?

Principal of Paperville Elementary School: We have Scott Foresman to level 15 as well as *Open Highways* which we use with groups that need more structure. *Open Highways* allows for more structured groups in the classroom.

Assistant Superintendent: You use them for boys and girls having trouble reading, right?

Principal of Paperville Elementary School: Yes.

Assistant Superintendent: You can design the curriculum with Scott Foresman if the staff has been deeply involved in planning and choosing the program.

Superintendent: This Scott Foresman is a good series. Now, what about money? I think ES is partly responsible here for purchasing these materials. Now, with this $1,959 [for Riverton] and $2,200 [for Paperville], it's over $4,000. My feeling is that ES and the district should each do part. [Here the district is Paperville only.]

Assistant Superintendent: Is there enough money in the ES pot?

Project Director: Yes, as it stands now there is. But it depends on what other requests we receive.

Superintendent: Do we agree that this is needed in Riverton?

Assistant Superintendent: As long as the Experimental Schools staff works with the people in implementing the program. We can't just throw the materials at them. A well defined curriculum guide ought to come out with this as a part of it. Let's hope the teachers in Riverton don't come out with a different set of objectives.

Project Director: Is the decision made?

Superintendent: The question is how much.

Assistant Superintendent: We should have Experimental Schools do it only if Experimental Schools works with the Riverton staff to develop a curriculum.

At this point the discussion turned to several other issues regarding ES expenditures. Later, after the principal of Paperville High School arrived at the meeting, the discussion returned to the book purchases. Concern was expressed that there might not be enough money for the things they wanted to do.

Superintendent: We may have to scale down new requests.

Project Director: I think Paperville's requests would be more likely to be approved than Riverton's because there is no local input of funds in Riverton whereas there is in Paperville.

Superintendent: Well, we will make an input from Riverton. The priority student and program-wise is just the opposite (sic). It's higher in Riverton than in Paperville. Further introduction of the reading series in Riverton will give us an entire program in the Union. Suppose we said $1,500 for Riverton and $1,500 in Paperville for the books. That still leaves you some money doesn't it?

Project Director: There is no problem finding it. It's just surplus money because we won't spend all the money for the first year anywise.

Superintendent: My original statement to [the Principal of Paperville High School] was that [the book purchase] has to fit a program. [The Principal of Paperville High School] has to justify it by contact with [the language arts coordinator]. We can put $1,500 towards purchasing the books for Paperville High School.

Principal of Paperville Elementary School: We don't have the levels [for the Scott Foresman Series] above level 16.

Project Director: You have to have a program, a structure to build upon, before ES can begin doing things.

Head Teacher from Woodington: There seems to be continuity in reading programs in the schools, but there is a gap in other areas of the program.

Superintendent: [The language arts coordinator] will have to work in these other areas identifying levels and skills in writing, speaking, etc.

Principal if Paperville Elementary School: Yes, reading is the easiest one to do. Companies list these strategies and areas in it.

Project Director: Is this a recommendation?

Superintendent: Yes. I feel the local districts should make some commitments too.

Because of the size of the purchases and the superintendent's belief that the local districts should make some contribution to purchasing the books, the total contribution from ES decreased from over $4,000 to $3,000. The Project Director, along with the language arts coordinator and principal, worked on creating an adequate justification for the purchases. The director planned to include this request in the second quarterly report. By the end of June, the language arts coordinator, however, became concerned whether this would permit purchase and receipt of the books in time for the beginning of the school year. He anticipated some delay on Washington's part in responding to the request, and it was already approaching the time when book companies could not guarantee delivery before September. He relayed his concerns to the Assistant Superintendent.

The Assistant Superintendent spoke to the project director about this, and then sent him a forceful memo demanding that he order the books without Washington's approval. The director's reaction to this turn of events was "paranoia" as the notes of a conversation with him describing these events indicates.

> I spoke with the Project Director. He showed me a memo he received from [the Assistant Superintendent] saying that since his program had assumed responsibility for buying the books in Riverton, it was imperative that they order the books right now, regardless of what Washington's policy regarding funds transfers was. He said that he had asked the Assistant Superintendent for "something in writing" when he came over earlier in the week to see about ordering the books ... In early conversations with him, the Project Director had talked with the Superintendent and told him about Washington's policy of not transferring funds until the quarterly report went in, though in the past Washington had ignored this policy. The Superintendent apparently was going to buy the books from the school budget and get the money from ES later but he said that apparently the Assistant Superintendent had spoken to the Superintendent after the Director had talked to him and received permission to write the nasty memo.
>
> The Director said that "ES was getting caught in the middle." He thinks that there might be a plot to build negative reactions to the project so they can get rid of it when refunding comes up. He said he is still looking for another job.
>
> He said that he was sending the memo along with a letter to the Project Officer requesting he expedite approval of the purchase request.

The Director received a call from the ES/Washington Project Officer wanting to know who [the Assistant Superintendent] was and what the meaning of the request was. The Director told him the situation and he approved the purchase. His verbal approval was followed by a letter.

To insure that the teachers had minimal problems using the series, the language arts coordinator scheduled a workshop for the teachers in the beginning of October. He felt that with a month's experience with the series any problems the teachers were having with it would surface. The other alternative was having a workshop on the series before school, which he ruled out because of time constraints. However, the Assistant Superintendent overruled him on this matter and demanded that the workshop be scheduled before school began. Reluctantly, the coordinator complied.

Towards the end of July the coordinator abruptly resigned to become principal of a school in a neighboring state. He had been looking for a position all year long and had even applied for the position in Riverton that had opened up as a result of the resignation of the principal. His departure was unexpected and hasty. According to his contract, he was supposed to give a month's notice that he was leaving, whereas, in fact, he only gave several days' notice. The Project Director was especially upset because he had himself turned down a position which started immediately, because he felt he had to honor the month's notice clause of his contract.

In addition to the integration of a new reading series and remedial reading curriculum, the language arts component sponsored two workshops during the school year. One was a "materials" workshop at which a college teacher showed the local teachers how to make a large number of different items from corrugated cardboard. The other workshop was a reading workshop for the teachers in Paperville Elementary School at which teachers from a neighboring school district told of their experiences with the Scott Foresman series.

The ES project also purchased a video-tape recorder out of language arts funds. It had been included in the original plan and budget as a means of improving teaching by giving the teachers feedback on their classroom performance. However, there was no evidence that any of the teachers wanted it when the actual purchase was made. Rather, it was bought because the plan for the year said it would be bought.

The language arts component bought achievement tests for the three school districts. A great deal of money had been put in the budget for testing. However, the language arts coordinator was totally unaware that the testing funds in his budget were being used to purchase achievement tests. He only found out that they had been ordered in July when they arrived at his office. He said that the assistant superintendent had ordered them without even asking him about it.

The year ended with the language arts component's having had a minimal impact on the students or teachers of North Country Union. A small number of students received special attention under the remedial reading program at Paperville High School and in the second grade class at Riverton. Several workshops were held which some teachers found useful and enjoyable but which did not have any lasting impact on them. A large number of books were purchased for the schools which some members of the ES staff thought were rightly school district responsibilities. Achievement tests for the entire Union were also purchased as was a video tape machine which no one was sure was going to be used. Finally, the Assistant Superintendent began exercising more and more influence over the affairs of this component.

CAREER/VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The career/vocational component was, in the eyes of the Council members, the most important part of the North Country Union Experimental Schools project. In fact, it was the Superintendent's opinion that the entire project should have focused solely on career/vocational education. The principals of both high schools were also strong supporters of career/vocational education, as were many members of the local school boards. For both the principals and school board members, career/vocational education was a means of providing meaningful, useful, and needed educational experiences for the great bulk of union students who entered the job market directly upon graduation from high school. Perhaps the most telling indicator of the importance of career/vocational education in the minds of the local people is the fact that, in the original plan for the ES project, only this component was allocated a full-time, paid coordinator.

Career/vocational education was important also because state efforts at promoting vocational education had increased in recent years. A regional vocational education program had just been established in Frenchtown which students from Paperville High School attended. A second regional program was scheduled to come into existence in the near future in another district which would serve students from Riverton School. The primary responsibility for overseeing the special vocational program was the Superintendent's. He wanted to have the career/vocational coordinator gradually take over supervision and administration of these programs. Upon completion of the project, the career/vocational coordinator would then become, assuming Union board approval, assistant superintendent for vocational programs in the Union, a position for which there promised to be some state funding and which would encompass all career vocational programs in the Union.

The duties of the career/vocational coordinator encompassed five different areas. During the first year, he was expected to develop a Resource Directory which listed "individuals and agencies who will assist the development of the career/vocational education program." A second area of activity was career education. The coordinator was responsible for the development of a K-12 career education program for the Union and for introducing this program into the Union classrooms. A third area of responsibility was adult education. The career/vocational coordinator was responsible for surveying adult educational wants and for developing courses to satisfy these wants. A fourth area was the development of a work-site program for high school students. The coordinator was responsible for identifying 15 non-school work sites in Paperville and five in Riverton, and for overseeing students' placement and progress in these sites. Finally, the coordinator was responsible for setting up vocational mini-courses for students in each of the high schools.

Although conflict played a part in the development of the other program components, it seemed to especially plague this component. A crucial factor in this conflict was the coordinator himself. He was the original project director who, having "failed" at that job, was given the job of career/vocational coordinator as part of a compromise between Washington (who had demanded his removal as project director as a condition for funding the project beyong the planning year) and the local superintendents and school boards (who refused to give Washington the power to determine who worked at the local level for the project). The principal of Riverton School summed up the reason for this person's being made coordinator when he said of him at a Council meeting devoted to problems with this component:

> Keep in mind, he wasn't hired because of his qualifications. We gave him the job to give him a job because he was leaving the directorship. We gave him a job because he needed a job.

The main complaints about the coordinator when he was project director were that he never did his job thoroughly and passed off his work and responsibilities to other people. The coordinator's activities during the first year of the project did little to dissuade people from reporting this complaint. Added to this was the fact that all of the administrators in the Union felt strongly that this component should get off to a strong start because it was the one component whose results would be seen and experienced by townspeople, board members, and teachers, and would thus be the most likely component to satisfy the ES requirement for community involvement.

The meetings in the first two months of the project all refer to the public relations aspect of this component.

> Superintendent: We need visibility in the schools for public relations. We need more job information for the staff and for the kids.
>
> Assistant Superintendent: He said that it would be good to get some feedback about the program to townspeople ...
>
> Superintendent: I think the thing is tangible visibility--to staff, to teachers, and the public so they know what is going on.

Because of these concerns about the coordinator and the component, the ES Council took a more active part in the career/vocational component than it did in the other components. Further, this concern was evident from the very beginning of the school year, as the excerpt from my fieldnotes of September 11, 1973 indicates.

> I asked the principal of Riverton School how things in the ES project were going. He said 'slow.' Things would have to wait another week until school problems [the usual beginning of school confusion] were sorted out before anything could start on ES. Outdoor education was going well, but career/vocational education was off to a slow start because [the coordinator] was floundering because he had not done anything during the summer when he took his fellowship. He said that his [the coordinator's] changing positions also created confusion for him because he wanted to go ahead with some things he had started when he was project director.

The coordinator had five tasks to accomplish in the first few months of the school year. He had to: set up two career education workshops, one for K-6 teachers and one for 7-12 teachers, for November; create the Resource Directory; survey adult members of the communities about their preferences for adult education and set up appropriate courses; find 15 worksites in Paperville and five in Riverton and place students in them; and survey high school students about their preferences for vocational mini-courses and set them up.

The career/vocational coordinator began working on all of these tasks. He contacted a number of local businesses and places of employment about placing students there for the work-site program. His aim was to achieve placement at the 20 sites called for by the proposal. He prepared various work agreements and evaluation forms for students and employers to use.

He also began his survey of adults about the courses they were interested in attending. He had a short questionnaire sent home with students and placed in local grocery stores. A variety of courses were listed on the questionnaire accordint to career area (e.g., agriculture--plant science, etc.). He did not think the questionnaires would produce much of a response, however, and asked the Council members for their advice on courses to offer. The members of the Council suggested that he aim for courses in the arts and crafts areas rather than in the vocational area, because the former had been successful in the past. However, he set up courses in Riverton and Paperville in career areas (typing in Riverton and cooking in Paperville). An oil painting course was set up in Woodington. The typing course in Riverton was well attended as was the oil painting course in Woodington. The cooking course only attracted one person and was replaced by a typing course.

Regarding the Resource Directory, the coordinator began work on it, only to be told that it was in the process of being typed. The principal of Riverton School had told him that he had collected the information for it, and when there was no response from the coordinator indicating whether he would have the information collated and typed, the principal went ahead and took care of it. The Directory was distributed to townspeople and teachers. Later in the year, responsibility for updating the Directory was given to a local women's club. As far as can be determined, the Directory was never used by anyone and was never revised.

One question that arose with the adult education courses and later with the "mini-courses" was who should teach them. Some teachers indicated concern to their principals that school equipment might be damaged or misused if non-teachers taught these courses. The Council did not agree with these concerns, however. The principal of Riverton said that "teachers tend to be empire builders" and advocated using community people whenever possible. The Superintendent favored using community members, too, though he stated that the coordinator should be concerned with finding qualified people, regardless of whether they were teachers.

Of all the coordinator's tasks, setting up the work site program was the most difficult. It involved relations with people in the schools, students, and various employers. A number of difficulties arose as he developed this program which cast doubts on the coordinator's performance. These doubts, in turn, led the Council to exert more control over the coordinator's activities and to set some specific tasks for him.

One set of problems arose as a result of the choice of work sites. The original list of work sites contained at least one site the Council thought inappropriate, a variety store in North Riverton which the principal ruled out as a work-site because it dealt in pornography. Two other sites were ruled out because of school "politics." These were the papermill and a grocery store in Paperville, both of which already had vocational programs at Paperville High School. When the members of the business department at Paperville High School learned that these were two potential work-sites, they complained to their principal who, with Council concurrence, ruled out their use. Subsequently, the coordinator met with members of the business department at the high school to discuss career/vocational education under the ES project. As a result of these meetings the members of the business department offered three alternatives for relating the ES career/vocational component to already existing business programs. The first alternative was to let ES and its coordinator be responsible for all cooperative educational activities in the Union, including the office and distributive education programs at Paperville High school. Essentially, ES would run the cooperative programs in the Union and the members of the business departments in Paperville and Riverton would have no responsibility or control over them. In the second alternative, ES would leave the office and distributive education programs under the responsiblity of the high school business department and concentrate its efforts in areas such as building trades or nursing where the school programs were lacking. The third alternative would include all areas such as the business and trade programs in the ES career/vocational programs so as to provide more opportunities for students outside the present programs at the high school, but not to include administration of the Paperville High School cooperative programs.

The ES Project Director was of the opinion that to take over all the programs would be too much work for the coordinator. The Superintendent agreed and said: "At some time we want all cooperative education under one roof, but not now." The Council decided to take the third alternative and leave the two programs at the high school on their own. This decision was really superfluous, however, because the coordinator already had met with the principal of Paperville High School and told him that he would not be involved with work sites at either the mill or the local grocery store in an attempt to restore goodwill.

Another set of problems dealt with the way the coordinator was going about setting up the work-site program. He contacted a number of employers to see whether they would be willing to participate in the program. The employers ranged from corner stores and gas stations to the local electricity company and a very large paper company in Frenchtown, a small city about 27 miles from Paperville. These problems were discussed at the September 27, 1973 Council meeting from which some excerpts are presented.

Riverton Principal:	He came to see me about the evaluation forms. He discussed the forms with me. To my knowledge, the information here and that he gave me was not enough to make any statements regarding the work-sites. I don't know anything about it and my staff and students don't know anything about it either. It's weak, and there is no credit established for it either.
Superintendent:	You make contact with him to get it straightened out.

Paperville High Principal: When he came to see me about picking students, I said sure. But then as they went through the cards, they did not pick good kids when they did not know what the kids would be doing.

Superintendent: Go over the list with [the coordinator]. We want it to work well.

Riverton Principal: There's no information on how the program is going to work.

Paperville High Principal: [The coordinator] ought to select kids and know who they are if he's going to evaluate it. He's got to take the information we give him and make the choice.

Superintendent: He's already made contact with your guidance people.

Paperville High Principal: It's very ambiguous.

Superintendent: You don't want him to do that?

Paperville High Principal: I want him to make the appointment in consultation with us [the principals].

Project Director: It comes down to you people working together on this.

Riverton Principal: My guidance person is academically oriented. He works in the school. He also teaches several courses and doesn't have much time for work-site placement and evaluation. We need some sort of job description, for me, for the employer and for the student and the community. He [the coordinator] has a very broad job and he won't be able to do it unless it's made more specific ... Next week, let's get this component moving. His telling the guidance counselors to get two students is the delegation of his job to someone else. Coordinators were created so we could work with our own buildings and not have to bother with these things.

Superintendent: If you looked at the sites and spelled out the skills and identified them, what kinds of things the kids will be doing, and had that information, that's what we want ...

Riverton Principal: There is no system for feedback on students' files to list the skills they've gained. This is very necessary. [The coordinator's] job is a moving job. He should get around to all of the buildings, to the employers, teachers and students. This may occupy two-thirds of his time.

Superintendent: We and Washington recognized that it was a broad job. That's why we should get a few sites going. My conception of adult education was not restricted to the vocational. Was that your concern? In the past arts and crafts and ceramics were the things that attracted students.

Project Director: That's what [the Riverton Principal's] survey showed.

Riverton Principal: [Agrees.]

Project Director: The proposal emphasized leisure time activity. Why don't you get him a copy of your survey.

Superintendent: Let's schedule a meeting with him to go over this. On Monday or as soon as possible.

[Discussion of scheduling the meeting with the coordinator.]

Assistant Superintendent: [The coordinator] doesn't have a good handle on his job and we don't have a good handle either. He still isn't prepared regarding the work-sites. He cannot say we have a core of foodline jobs for students. He isn't ready to give you a list of skills that have to be ironed out. It's unclear about the work-sites. Are they to be used for career development or for career exploration? Everyone wants to know what it will entail ...

Riverton Principal: There are service people that I would have used for the work-site program. [A government forester] is one.

Assistant Superintendent: These things should be grouped and we can say that this is primarily career exploration and this is primarily career or skills development. These have to be resolved along with credits before we can put a kid on a site.

Paperville High Principal: We have to be very, very careful regarding credits.

Superintendent: Is it something over and above the 16 required for graudation?

Paperville High Principal: This is a problem.

Superintendent: You do it now for physical education.

Paperville High Principal: We've used gypsy credits before.

Riverton Principal: Yeah, to get the kids out the door.

Paperville High Principal: We have to be careful with this. I'd give credit if it's worthwhile.

Riverton Principal: We have to take into account the difficulty of what the kid is doing.

Project Director: Then we come back to the point of whether the particular site is for career development or career exploration.

Riverton Principal: Let's get them working with the itinerant people in the area.

Assistant Superintendent: Are the problems so serious that [the coordinator] should only concentrate on a small part of the program?

Riverton Principal: Let's set some priorities for him. The vocational/work-site part should be #1; career education should be #2; and adult education should be #3.

Assistant Superintendent: Should he drop all else and get the vocational work-site going?

Riverton Principal: Yes. That would be a good direction for him. Let him get it going so it's a successful experience. The adult education is the easiest to set up.

Assistant Superintendent: Will the proposal allow us to do this?

Project Director: Yes. The proposal allows us a lot of leeway. The career education part requires a workshop. All he has to do for that is formulate a workshop and get his materials together for it. He has October to develop the others.

Riverton Principal: He doesn't drop these things but he sets priorities on his time.

Superintendent: I don't make a hard distinction between the two. [The Riverton Principal's] notions are in my mind more career oriented.

Riverton Principal: I agree.

Assistant Superintendent: He's seeing work sites do a number of things for the students.

Project Director: Classification of exploration or skills development would be incorporated into a description of the job for guidance people so that they could say this is exploration and this is skills development and this is skills reinforcement.

Assistant Superintendent: Instead of developing the program conceptually, he developed the sites first. But the work-site description does not fit the first objective. He has to have a clear picture of the two or three parts of the program. After he does this [the Riverton Principal] and [the Paperville High Principal] can make credit decisions.

The quotations from the Council meeting indicate the strong distrust of the coordinator's ability and style of operating. The members of the Council doubted whether the coordinator had a "handle" on the job as it pertained to setting up the work-site program. What he had done so far indicated that little thought had been given to how the various sites fitted into a larger career/vocational program. Further, the way he was going about trying to start the work-site program also offended the principals--he did not always check with the principals before distributing forms in a building which was a violation of an important unwritten rule in the schools. He also gave the appearance of trying to get people in the buildings to do his job for him.

These concerns led the Council members to suggest that the coordinator set some priorities, with the work-site program being the most important. These concerns were further crystallized at a later Council meeting when it was decided that he concentrate on getting one or two work sites functioning, before increasing the number to the stated 20. The principal of Riverton School also pressed for a very detailed job description for the coordinator, one which spelled out clearly his responsibilities vis-à-vis regular school personnel. The Project Director created one as a result of this.

With these directions from the Council, the coordinator arranged for several students to work at a site in Riverton which was a federally funded project designed to create low income housing and job training for local residents. Even this, however, was not without its problems. First, the Director complained that the principal of Riverton High School used this as a means of getting some of the "troublemakers" out of school, since they left at noon to go to the work sites. There were also complaints from Paperville High School where the guidance counselor and vocational teachers felt that there weren't enough work sites. Some students were not interested in working at the particular site which was available at that time. In an attempt to encourage patience and support of the program, the director explained to dissatisfied people that the program was moving slowly in order to avoid problems and failures, but the people involved responded that it would be better to move ahead and risk failure.

Eventually the number of work-sites was increased. During the second half of the year 14 students were placed on sites. However, criticism was voiced about the way the program was being run, especially at Paperville High School, as notes of a conversation with the guidance counselor indicate.

> I said that Paperville High School seemed to be pretty down on the ES project. He said that people in the high school were justified in being critical of the program. He was very critical of [the career/vocational coordinator]. He said that there is no supervision of the students, some weren't even going to the work-sites but were leaving school and hanging out, and some of the kids were bored with the specific sites and were going to quit the program ... One kid had done nothing but wash cars on his site and was getting pretty upset at that. He said that [the principal] 'was going bananas over this,' even to the point of suggesting that [the coordinator] not be allowed in his building. He said that he sympathized with the principal.

In fact, the principal did order the coordinator out of his building one day and told him that he would be arrested if he ever set foot in it again. The Project Director tried to arrange a meeting between the coordinator and the principal to deal with this conflict but was unsuccessful. (It should be noted that this was done over the phone; the director did not go to the high school to talk with the principal or members of his staff about the troubles between the coordinator and people in the high school.)

The other major activity for career education, other than two poorly attended informational workshops, was the mini-course program. By means of a student questionnaire the coordinator determined that the students wanted courses in child care and small engine repair. The school nurse at Paperville High School taught the former, while the coordinator taught the latter, at first for students from Paperville and Riverton, and later only for students from Riverton. He did this because it took a great deal of time to find someone to teach the course. However, while he was teaching the course, people complained that he often cancelled the classes. After a teacher was found in Paperville to teach the course, complaints were made that the students were not supervised properly by the teacher and, in fact, were skipping the classes which were held in this man's garage and were riding around in cars. The principal of Paperville High School was especially upset at this.

The final problem for the work-site program arose during the latter part of the year. During May and June, a major portion of the principal's and guidance counselor's time is typically spent in arranging the schedule for the next year and in scheduling individual students. The career/vocational coordinator and Project Director tried to arrange for time to be set aside in the schedule for upper classmen to sign up for the work-site program. This was not done in Paperville, however, because the guidance counselor had no information to give to students.

The Project Director was extremely upset by this and complained to the Superintendent. He in turn talked to the principal who explained his reasons for not doing this and told the Superintendent that all could be squared away in the fall when they knew more about the sites.

The career/vocational component attracted numerous unanticipated requests for funds from various groups. One such request was for a storefront work-site which would also serve as a drop-in center. It was proposed that the ES project fund not only the purchase or rental of the center, but of some equipment such as file projectors as well. Those who opposed the idea argued that funding of such a venture was beyond the ES contract, and that, given the low success rate of the work-site program, there was little indication that the storefront would serve a useful function or that the facilities and equipment could be adequately maintained. Despite numerous meetings aimed at developing the storefront idea, the school board remained unwilling to give it support, and it was finally dropped.

A second idea that arose was for a cooperative program in auto mechanics. The source of the idea was a member of the ES Advisory Board, an unskilled employee of the mill who also taught the small engine mini-course in Paperville. He was unhappy with his job which he said involved stacking boxes in the paper mill and wanted to see if a program could be developed which would provide students with jobs that were better than his. He mentioned the idea to the Project Director who told him to see if he could develop a proposal for the program. He apparently did his homework and developed a proposal which would require $10,000 initially from the project but would be self-sufficient after that. He told the director and other advisory board members in April, 1974:

> I've looked around for similar programs. There is a co-op program run by individuals out of their school system in Baldwin. I'm trying to set up a system that wouldn't be dependent on federal aid that can be removed at any time and all you're left with is the tools.

Added support for the idea came from responses to a questionnaire that the career/education coordinator and Level I evaluator sent to area garages and car dealers. The questionnaire asked whether there was a shortage of trained mechanics in the area and the overwhelming response was that such a shortage did in fact exist.

No action was taken on this idea during the school year and it died when its sponsor took another job driving a truck for a trucking firm in a neighboring state and dropped off the advisory board. Enthusiasm for the idea was minimal among members of the Council and it's questionable whether anything would have been done to set up such a program even if its sponsor kept pushing it.

A third request for assistance from ES came from the business department at Paperville High School. The business department submitted a request for funds to buy office equipment, primarily an offset printing press for its office practices program. The Superintendent questioned how such a purchase could be justified under the ES project when the benefits would be received primarily by one building. The principal from Paperville suggested that space for students from Riverton could be provided so that the benefits of the equipment would be Union wide. This did not lessen the Superintendent's doubts and this request was turned down. Later, the Paperville School Board approved the purchase of the offset printing press and it was purchased with local funds.

The final proposal to arise during the first year was for a building trades program, an idea which had arisen during the planning year but was not included in the final proposal sent to Washington. Its sponsor was the chairman of the Paperville School Board, a powerful and skillful proponent of the idea. He had sponsored the idea of a building trades program during the planning year and began pushing it during the first year of the project as well. He was perhaps the most financially conservative member of Paperville's School Board; certainly he was its most outspoken member. He was constantly on the lookout for ways of having ES assume financial responsibility for local programs.

Regarding the building trades program, he saw the ES project as a way to get the program started in Paperville (or North Country Union) with minimal local costs. The basic idea behind the building trades program, and its great appeal to him, was that students each year would build a home and learn various skills associated with the construction industry. Then, the home would be sold and the income from this home used to finance the construction of another home. The result would be that the program could be self-supporting and thereby cost the local taxpayers nothing. A further benefit would be additional housing for an area chronically short of good housing.

The idea for a building trades program arose during the winter. A committee was created consisting of the shop teachers from the various schools, the chairman of the school board, and the vocational education coordinator. Their task was to look into the possibility of establishing a building trades program and to outline the requirements of such a program. The committee gave the coordinator the task of researching the program needs and ascertaining what ES could contribute to the program.

The coordinator met with the ES Project Director and they responded to the committee's directive by coming up with a list of vocational mini-courses that pertained to home construction--surveying, architectural drawing, light construction, and interior decorating, the latter being put in at the request of female students--ten "tool kits" which contained the tools and equipment students would need for the mini-courses, a surveyor's transit, and funds for the instructors of these courses. The total amount of money for equipping the courses and providing instructors was about $3,100.

While this sum might have been a start, the chairman was anxious for more. He instituted a number of moves to get more money from the project. He put an article in a weekly paper linking ES funding to a building trades program. He said he did this "to put some pressure on the ES project for funds." He also approached the president of the papermill to see if the schools could obtain a lot in an area the president and his son were developing for management housing. He said that the president said he would give them the land and buy the house from them if necessary. The president also said: "I'm glad to see you're going to get something for the half million dollars besides tents and camping gear." The chairman of the board also brought the idea of a building trades program before the Union Board which went on record as approving the idea of a building trades program for the Union. Finally, the chairman of the school board questioned the federal Project Officer about receiving funding from ES for the building trades program. The Project Officer was evasive about whether the money could be "gunned" towards the building trades program. He told him that any decision by Washington would have to wait until the program was approved at the local level.

Thus, by the end of the year, the only proposal or idea that was locally generated that had received any support from ES was the building trades program. This was primarily due to its powerful sponsor and his persistence in pursuing it. The support was only in the form of mini-courses for the next academic year. But, the chairman was not satisfied with this and he would continue his pressure to receive greater funding for the program from ES.

Thus, the career/vocational component achieved little success or progress during the first operational year. Much of the failure can be traced to poor planning and lack of organization on the part of the coordinator, and the board's resulting lack of confidence in his ability to implement meaningful vocational programs. Probably the most successful aspect of the component was the adult education courses which had already been proven popular prior to the introduction of ES to the Union. As was the case with language arts and psychological services, people seemed to be more interested in spending ES funds for isolated programs or goods that they could not otherwise afford than in the implementation of planned comprehensive change.

SUMMARY

The halting attempts at planning were characteristic of the project's implementation phase as well. The Project Director was viewed as being the primary source of responsibility for implementation of the various project components, yet his influence and, consequently, at times his interest, was watered down by the authority of the building principals and the unenthusiastic ES Council.

There was irritation at the high salaries of local ES personnel, which seemed to teachers, principals, and community members to be incommensurate with the low level of activity and progress in the project. Because planning and organization had been poor or non-existent, much additional time and money had to be funneled into planning during the implementation phase as well.

A third set of problems stemmed from the failure of the project to resolve the conflicts and suspicions that existed between it and the various schools, and to build bridges between it and school personnel. Whatever bridges were built--and they were by the language arts coordinator with various teachers in the buildings--were largely fortuitous. There was no concerted effort by the Project Director either to confront the conflicts between the career/vocational coordinator and the business department, or to build relationships with the principals and teachers in the buildings. He adamantly refused to do this, even when it was suggested several times by the principals, especially the Principal of Paperville High School.

The events of the planning year also took their toll on program morale. By the end of the year, all of the coordinators were looking for new jobs; so was the Project Director. Furthermore, the members of the project staff felt that the schools were taking advantage of the project and trying to get the project to fund purchases that were rightfully district responsibilities. In the vernacular, they felt that the local districts were "ripping off" the project.

To make matters worse, Washington was ambivalent and inconsistent in implementing its stated policies vis a vis the local project. Although the Project Director tried to enforce the federal policy on expenditures, ES/Washington appeared willing to fund programs or facilities that clearly were local responsibilities. This sloppiness further undermined the overall project because it encouraged locals to simply ask for programs they wanted, rather than attempting to prioritize their needs and plan responsibly for them. On the other hand, the Washington officials were highly critical of the North Country ES project and personnel, yet rarely offered sustained guidance in making changes, and never followed up their meetings to see what progress was being made.

Thus, in a real sense, the members of the ES project felt themselves isolated in a mostly indifferent or hostile environment. Support in the schools was limited. Administrative backing for the program seemed sporadic and spotty. And even Washington failed to provide support when the Project Director felt it was needed.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE SECOND OPERATIONAL YEAR: THE MOBILIZATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT FOR PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

The second implementation year differed from the first in one very fundamental way. Whereas the first year's activities tended to focus on program activities that took students out of the classroom, on buying materials for teachers and on developing in-class programs for teachers, the second year's activities focused on implementing in-class activities. The first year's activities had impinged very little on the average teacher in his or her daily teaching activities. Teachers were then able to carry on with little direct influence or interference from administrators. They occasionally attended workshops associated with the project's various components, and some students were removed from the classroom for participation in vocational education programs. During the second year, however, this changed because the emphasis was on in-class activities. Teachers were required to use the existing lesson cards in career education or outdoor education or to create their own lessons. Furthermore, great effort was made to hold them accountable for their implementation. Despite the teachers' initial resistance, the administrators eventually succeeded in having the programs functioning.

The implementation of the in-class programs in career education and outdoor education occurred because the authority structure of North Country Union mobilized behind the project. The Superintendent, working through the Assistant Superintendent, forced the principals to demand compliance from their teachers with specific in-class performance goals, and he forced the project's coordinators to devise specific schedules to meet their goals for in-class instructional materials. The specific body through which this occurred was the ES Council which was changed and rechartered as a result of the ES/Washington Project Officer's visit to North Country Union in late September of 1974.

Thus, the story of the second year of implementation is of broader scope than that of the first year. Rather than focusing on the activities of isolated components under the direction of the various coordinators, as described in Chapter 6, this chapter is an account of the mobilization of

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administrative authority which shifted the responsibility for promoting in-class implementation for all the components from the coordinators to the building principals.

SUMMER ACTIVITIES

During the summer of 1974, ES staff members busied themselves preparing for the 1974-75 school year. These preparations took several forms. First, in response to the ES/Washington Project Officer's concerns about developing a "plan," the local Level 1 evaluator presented the ES Council with an approach he and the Project Director created for revising the current proposal based on a format of management-by-objectives. The evaluator had to present a proposal to the Council in the spring of 1974 because his contract for the year ended in June. (He had been hired as a part-time substitute and part-time evaluator earlier in the year, at the Project Officer's insistence, for the 1973-74 school year only.) In order for him to work and be paid during the summer, he needed approval from the Council. The management-by-objectives format for the revision was chosen as a result of his attending several management-by-objectives workshops during the school year and also as a result of the "training" he had received from the outside consultant who had been retained to aid in both his training and the development of an evaluation plan.

The Council approved his proposal and he began revising the existing plan. He did this by consulting the original proposal which Washington received the previous August and the coordinators' plans (which were based largely on the original plan) for the upcoming academic year. He met with the coordinators and rewrote the original proposal in the new format. The revision was presented to the coordinators and the Project Director who reviewed the evaluator's work. The main concern of the coordinators was that the revision accurately portray what they were going to do in their respective areas so that they would not be held responsible for activities and programs they did not think they could implement. The following excerpts from the meeting in which the revisions were discussed illustrate this point.

> Career/Vocational Coordinator: I don't see how I can provide employment information.

Level 1 Evaluator: You mean objective 1.1.1?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: Yes. Would that imply the career ed program or something else?

Project Director: You don't see this as realistic?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: No.

Project Director: You could put in "assist" guidance person in this.

Level 1 Evaluator: It's in there already.

Project Director: [The Level 1 evaluator] came up with a test. It's the Cornell Awareness Test that could be used as a pre-post test.

Level 1 Evaluator: This is for grades 5 through 8.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: It would be nice to have one test for Papertown and Riverton. What's objective 2.1?

Level 1 Evaluator: I took the numbers at random.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: These are in-class activities that we'll test?

Level 1 Evaluator: They're career ed activities.

Project Director: Are there any instruments that we have to evaluate "career awareness?"

Level 1 Evaluator: Will the teachers do the testing?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: The teacher will describe what she did, what the kids did, and how successful it was.

Level 1 Evaluator: That would be all right.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: If we're going to be held to it, we damn well better have some tests. Let's use "questionnaires" to get us off the hook for "attitudinal/interest inventories."

Superintendent: The talk on contracts in Riverton has focused on the "free time" contract activities. You may find some teachers who have used some sort of informal activities and system in their classes. It's good that you're [the coordinator] going to sit down with [the Riverton Principal], [the Paperville High School Principal] and the teachers. We probably will be going somewhat in these directions, but we have to do it a little differently.

Language Arts Coordinator: I came in and found this and thought it was contrary to the philosophy of the town and the schools.

Riverton Principal: What activities did you have in mind for this?

Language Arts Coordinator: It would depend on the staff.

Riverton Principal: Something like a special English course in the activity period or special individual study projects?

Language Arts Coordinator: Yes, depending on the school or staff.

Assistant Superintendent: There is no real problem with something like this in the schools.

Language Arts Coordinator: If you take contracts out, you've eliminated a major part of the component.

Assistant Superintendent: This is a good way to help kids learn about freedom and responsibility.

Riverton Principal: I've been working with [the career/vocational coordinator] on contracts. We're trying to add enrichment activities to the program.

Superintendent: These objectives are primarily taken from the original, aren't they?

Project Director: Yes. We have broken down the original goals into a number of different activities and objectives.

Superintendent: This goal would mean that we would try to make a kid aware he is behind in certain areas and then let him work in these areas to catch up in them. One other thing about language arts. One of the things I was concerned about was having the staff identify at each grade level the skills students would be exposed to. I would hope by the end of the project, hopefully before then, that we do this and create a skills list for all of the grades whether we copy them from a Scott Foresman series or not.

Assistant Superintendent: "Assist" has been inserted in objective 1.1, but I hope the initiative in doing this will come from here.

Language Arts Coordinator: That's a P.R. ply to let the teachers get some credit for these things.

Outdoor Educational Coordinator: In objective 1.1, I don't want specific sites mentioned. I was told that the more informal I made it, the better. I prefer to have it say "identify" or "develop" three or four sites. Where did "industrial land use" come from?

Level 1 Evaluator: I thought that was Papertown's site.

Outdoor Educational Coordinator: Let's not list sites, okay? Just list the types of sites.

After the coordinators reviewed the proposed revisions, the Council met with the coordinators to discuss the document. The main thrust of the discussion was clarifying the meaning of the various elements of the proposal, where the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent took the lead. They focused on the language arts component and redefined the meaning of "contract systems" which had been included in the original proposal because it was one of the main concerns of the former principal of Riverton's school. The excerpt from the meeting presented below documents this and also shows the strong role the Assistant Superintendent had begun taking in project matters.

New Riverton Principal: What is objective 1.3? Could you explain that to me?

Language Arts Coordinator: That's another one that I want some clarification on from administrators. In the proposal, there is mention of language arts "contract systems." I've gotten a lot of negative feedback on this from the board and from parents in North Riverton.

New Riverton Principal: I think the problem is that there were no enrichment activities there. I'm not opposed to a contract system per se, but it wasn't working up there, and we won't have one until some enrichment courses are added.

Language Arts Coordinator: [Paperville High's Principal] isn't very keen either. Do we want to pursue it?

Assistant Superintendent: I assume it connects to "developing responsibility and accountability." I think the contract system may be a way of doing this.

Project Director: The "Note" on the front page, because it leads to false impressions on the part of [the Project Officer] and others, we've X'd that out.

Assistant Superintendent: Activity 1.2.1. The administration already has said there is an interest in individualized instruction. No one can say they're not interested in doing this. We have to say to them that we're going down this road.

Language Arts Coordinator: I see what you mean. The activity should be changed to "determine methods of implementation."

Assistant Superintendent: "Methods of implementing" makes it clear that this is not subject to question by teachers.

Language Arts Coordinator: Point well taken, [Assistant Superintendent].

The new "Revised Plan," as it was called, was completed in August and sent to the ES/Washington Project Officer. The new plan differed little in substance from the original plan. It contained no more detail or specificity, either as to the timetable for project occurrences and events or as to the reasons or justifications for these events or as to who would participate in the events. Rather, the Revised Plan appeared to substitute one format for another without materially affecting the content of the original document.[13] This can be seen by comparing corresponding sections from the original with those from the new plan. (See Appendix A.)

Several workshops also took place during the summer. A three-week career education materials writing workshop was held in which the career vocational coordinator and several teachers wrote curriculum materials for teachers in grades 1-4. These materials covered a number of different career areas--public service, transportation, business and office occupations--and two general areas--values and attitudes and the world of work. These materials were similar in format to the materials that had been prepared the previous summer and generally listed an objective or series of objectives relating to work, activities designed to achieve these objectives, and the materials needed for the activities.

In addition to holding the workshop, the career education coordinator also prepared detailed descriptions of the work sites for the upcoming school year. These described the types of activities students would engage in at the various work sites. This was done in response to previous criticisms from principals and guidance counselors that they did not know very much about the work sites when they were discussing possible placements with students.

During the summer, the language arts coordinator began developing a sequential list of language arts skills for the Union to which students would be exposed, the aim being that certain skills would be mastered in each grade. The summer work was preliminary, and during the school year, the coordinator intended to work with teachers to develop a list which accurately reflected what occurred in the classroom. The main impetus for the skills list came from the Superintendent of schools who said that the development of such a list was his main expectation for the language arts component.

The language arts coordinator also held a workshop in Riverton School at the end of the summer. The purpose of the workshop was to introduce the Riverton and Woodington teachers to the new reading series that the ES project had bought for these two districts. The participants of the workshop included the elementary teachers from Riverton and Woodington, the elementary teachers from Paperville who acted as consultants to the other teachers, and a representative from the book company. The timing of this workshop created a minor dispute between the language arts coordinator and the Assistant Superintendent. The language arts coordinator originally planned to have the workshop in October, after the teachers had begun working with the series. He thought that it would be hard to anticipate the difficulties and questions that teachers might have with the series and, therefore, that they would be able to reap the full benefits of a workshop only after some exposure to the series. The Assistant Superintendent thought otherwise, however, and demanded that the workshop be held before school started.

The outdoor education coordinator also held a curriculum workshop. Materials for the in-class program were prepared at the workshop. The coordinator also began preparing several "tests" for students dealing with environmental issues. Their purpose was to evaluate the effect of the curriculum materials in increasing students' awareness of environmental issues.

As in the previous year, these materials were presented to teachers at the orientation meetings in September.

CHANGES IN THE ES PROJECT AND NORTH COUNTRY UNION

As the 1974-75 school year began, a number of changes had occurred in North Country Union and in ES. There was a new principal of Riverton School. The language arts coordinator had applied for the position and was assumed to have the inside track on the position. However, another applicant was chosen who came from the Boston area where he taught social studies and was a guidance counselor. Early in his career, he and the Assistant Superintendent had taught in the same building in a nearby school district. His wife was from the North Country, too. Thus, he was not a complete stranger to the area or to the Assistant Superintendent.

The Assistant Superintendent and Superintendent gave the new principal a list of changes that they wanted to see occur in Riverton. These changes were based on the Assistant Superintendent's assessment of the situation in Riverton. Their main concerns were improving discipline in the building and reducing physical damage to the building. This involved, among other things, scrapping the "free time contract system" that the former principal had established, instituting study halls, creating a permanent room for the special education teacher, and developing a work-site program for students in the building.

Three other important personnel changes occurred during the summer. New guidance counselors were hired in Paperville and Riverton. The Paperville counselor was a native of the area and a recent college graduate; the Riverton counselor was originally from Connecticut by way of Guam, where he had been a guidance counselor. Finally, the language arts coordinator resigned abruptly in late August to take a principalship in a neighboring state. This left the ES project without a language arts coordinator. As an interim measure, the outdoor education coordinator was made half-time language arts coordinator. In September he became the full-time language arts coordinator, and ES began looking for a new outdoor education coordinator.

Another change in the Union was the strong emphasis on personnel evaluation that emanated from the Superintendent's office under the direction of the Assistant Superintendent. The ES project was included in this. According to the Assistant Superintendent, the main reason for stressing the systematic and thorough evaluation of staff was the problem that arose at Paperville High School the previous spring when the principal tried to fire two members of his English department. The principal thought that the performance of two members of the English department, one of whom was its chairman, was inadequate and unacceptable because these teachers maintained low academic standards for their students, did little preparation for their classes, and failed to run their classes in an orderly and professional manner. However, the principal failed to document fully the teachers' shortcomings according to established guidelines and deadlines and, thus, was unable to remove the two without risking legal action. Instead of firing the two, the board gave them only partial salary increments for the next year, something that had not happened in recent years. The Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent initiated the new emphasis on evaluation to try to prevent a recurrence of this type of situation. The Superintendent's and Assistant Superintendent's dissatisfaction with the previous year's events in Riverton School also contributed to their concern for establishing clear and consistent evaluation this year.

The concern for evaluation also included ES. The Assistant Superintendent told the Project Director that he was responsible for rigorously evaluating the people he had working for him and that he was responsible for following the same format and timetable for evaluation that the principals followed. The Project Director said that he thought that the emphasis on evaluation was a "witch-hunt" to get rid of people the administration did not want in the Union. He thought one target was his career/vocational education coordinator.

Another related set of changes that would affect ES during the second implementation year involved the Staff Development Plan. The Staff Development Plan was a state-mandated plan for recertification of teachers that every supervisory union had to develop and implement beginning January 1, 1975. Previously, the State Department of Education set the standards for recertification of teachers, and those standards took the form of postgraduate courses in education leading to a Master's degree. Now, the state requirements were being abandoned and the various supervisory unions were responsible for developing their own recertification plans based on a format and specific minimum requirements set by the State Department of Education. The minimum requirement was 50 clock hours of advanced training every three years, but the specific training need not occur in an academic setting and the local school unions could decide what constituted a clock hour of training. Further, school unions were free to specify additional required hours of training and activities beyond the 50 hours for rehiring purposes, so it was theoretically possible for a teacher to do more than 50 hours' work during the required period and be certified but not rehired.

In North Country Union, the Superintendent established a staff development committee during the 1972-73 school year, but it made little progress, primarily because of the time and effort people spent in planning for ES. The committee was reformed during the next year and, with the assistance and urging of the Assistant Superintendent, it worked on developing a plan. ES had a representative on the committee, the Project Director, who worked with the committee in exploring ways by which the project's activities might dovetail with staff development activities. This was done because the supervisory unions were also responsible for developing activities during the school year which teachers could use to satisfy their staff development plans. These plans were created by the teachers, based on the teachers' and their principals' assessments of teacher needs.

The primary way in which ES would be tied into staff development was by means of workshops sponsored by ES. Participation in the workshops could count towards the staff development requirements of individual teachers. Thus, the tie-in of ES and the union's staff development plan offered potential benefits to both. The linkage gave ES a potential opportunity to provide activities which would fulfill teachers' staff development plans and, at the same time, expose them to ES activities. For the Union, ES, by providing workshops for teachers, would reduce the expenses that would be associated with any staff development plan because ES would pay for whatever consultants might be used at the workshops. Thus, it looked as though both the Union and ES might benefit from the linkage of ES to the staff development committee.

Related to this was the institution of several released-time workshops during the school year. Released-time workshops had been held in the

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past, but this year the board, in preparation for the implementation of the staff development plan, approved five released-time workshops during the school year. These workshops occurred between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. and necessitated the early release of children from school. The teachers taught one hour less but worked one hour later after school, thus making a fair exchange. ES was given the responsibility for planning and staffing these workshops. This relieved the school districts of the costs of consultants, allowed teachers to accumulate staff development hours, and provided ES with a captive audience.

One change in the ES project for the second year concerned the psychological services component. Psychological services was a failure during the first year, as everyone was aware. Because of this, the Project Director and members of the Council changed its format. In the first year, psychological services lacked any clear focus; during the second year, an attempt would be made to focus its activities and have them relate to programs in the schools. The activities of this component were most clearly worked out in Riverton School, where a staff member from psychological services conducted a "job-placement" seminar for students who were being placed in work sites. These included students participating in the regular ES work-site program as well as a special program established in Riverton School for students who, for a variety of reasons, were thought to be hard to place.

ADMINISTRATIVE CONCERNS ABOUT THE ES PROJECT

The first year of the project did not meet everybody's expectations for its progress. Teachers generally dismissed the project as being worthless, and both the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent were concerned that so little had been accomplished during that year. The Superintendent listed a number of problems with the project that he thought were responsible for its poor performance during the first year. One was lack of leadership within the project. He said: "One problem is leadership. I'm trying to get [the Project Director] not to rely so much on the coordinators. He's got to lay it out for them and see to it that they get it done. Administratively--record keeping and making reports--he's done a good job. He's got to spend more time in curriculum work." Another problem was the Superintendent's own failure to make the other administrators in the Union see that successful implementation of ES components and activities was their responsibility as well as the teachers'. His primary reference in this case was to the principal of Riverton High School who had been a source of concern to the Project Director because of his frequent criticisms of the project, especially of the career/vocational component and its coordinator. The Superintendent said that he was going to send a memo to his principals making it clear to them that he expected their wholehearted support and backing of the project this year.

Not surprisingly, the Assistant Superintendent mirrored the Superintendent's assessments of the project. He said: "We assumed [the Project Director] had certain administrative skills that he doesn't. He didn't have any exposure to running people [before we hired him]. . . . He can't see the forest for the trees. He sees Abt tests, quarterly reports, VTR [video tape recorder], but he doesn't see implementation of the program." In discussing problems facing the project, he indicated that a number of other problems existed. One was personnel evaluation within the project by the Project Director. It was the Assistant Superintendent's opinion that too little of this had been done thus far, and more would have to be done during the second year. Another problem was one that the Superintendent had mentioned: the failure of the central office to make other administrators in the Union see that they were responsible for the project's moving ahead in their buildings. A final one related to the staff of the project. The Assistant Superintendent said:

> It's difficult to employ the kind of staff that we needed for the project. We had only three applicants for the position of project director, and one was [a local person he did not think qualified]. I thought we should have had someone strong in curriculum. We didn't get one, and we didn't hire any specialists for its staff. . . . We have a job to do that is probably bigger than any of the people we've hired.

THE SECOND IMPLEMENTATION YEAR GETS UNDER WAY

Though administrative concerns about the progress of the ES project existed prior to the beginning of the second implementation year, the full mobilization of authority behind the project did not occur until late fall when the Assistant Superintendent began to take an increasingly stronger role in the project.

A major problem for the project emerged immediately during the teacher orientation meeting in September. The meeting began well, with the Superintendent telling the teachers about the project and his expectations of them vis-à-vis it:

> The project involves a considerable amount of money. Parts of the project touch on several parts of the school. I would like to see it have an impact, but it will only do so if you and the schools accept the program. This can do something for your school and for your students. In language arts, we will have a single reading program throughout the Union for the first time. We have a career ed program. Washington wants it to have a measurable impact and they want it integrated into the regular program, but they want it set up outside the program. I want you to cooperate with career education and see that it has a measurable impact. We went through a second year of planning on the project, and I want this to be an operational year for the project.

Though the Superintendent's speech was welcomed by the Project Director who saw it as more forceful and positive about the project than the previous year's speech, he soon received some information which was not nearly so upbeat. He, the career/vocational coordinator and members of the business and shop departments of Paperville High School and Riverton School met to discuss coordination of ES activities with the programs of the respective schools. During this meeting, the shop teacher from Paperville told of a problem that he had had with the State Labor Department during the summer. He had hired a student to work with him in woodworking and carpentry and found out that he had to contribute to workmen's compensation. He said that it was his understanding that the same regulations applied to the school's work site program because the students did productive work at the sites, even though they did not receive payment for this work. The Project Director and career/vocational coordinator said that they were unaware of this and promised to check into it.[14]

The Project Director and career/vocational coordinator contacted the State Labor Department and were told that any employer using students in a productive capacity had to contribute to workmen's compensation. This contradicted the conditions under which employers took students, and, after consulting with the Superintendent, the Project Director and career/vocational coordinator agreed that no students should be placed until the matter was resolved.

Shutting down the work-site program had two consequences. First, it aggravated concern about the ability of the career/vocational coordinator to do his job. To some, like the Assistant Superintendent and the Principal of Paperville High School, the lack of awareness of the state regulations of work-site activities indicated the coordinator's incompetence and inability to do a job thoroughly or carefully. For others, like the Project Director and Principal of Riverton School, this lack of awareness raised the issue of the coordinator's competence in a concrete and important instance. The other effect of shutting down the program was that the principals of the two schools had to deal with students who now had a "hole in their schedules" and with the students' parents, some of whom complained about the school's not providing the work-site experience which had been promised their children. This was more of a problem in Riverton School where the new principal had publicized the increased vocational activities that were to occur under his administration.

Resolution of the problems between ES and the State Department of Labor took some time and involved several trips to the state capital to discuss the program with representatives of the Departments of Education and Labor. Apparently, the conflict was as much between incompatible definitions of acceptable vocational education held by the different bureaus as it was between the ES project and the Department of Labor. While the work site program resumed functioning later in the fall, damage had been done to ES and to the career/vocational coordinator's credibility.

The ES/Washington Project Officer for North Country Union visited the site during the third week in September 1974. Prior to his visit he queried the Project Director about the plans for the second year. In response to his questions, the Director sent the Project Officer a memo, part of which is reproduced below. The memo gives the Project Director's position on the key problems the project faced. It read:

> ...Emphasis has been placed on the creation, development, and implementation of union-wide, K-12 programs in career/vocational education, language arts, and environmental education. Organizational patterns have been created; namely, the ES Council and ES Advisory Board, and incorporated into the existing North Country Union structure. These organizational patterns/groups transcend district lines and create 'super' groups; memberships which emphasize union-wide activities and concerns.
>
> At this point, matters related to organization and purpose should be discussed. The North Country Union ES project has

purpose and structure but has little, if any, power and authority. ES is basically a curriculum change project servicing North Country Union in a consulting/coordinating capacity. This situation in which ES exists brings to mind two organizational strategies which apply--or should apply--to the North Country Union setting.

Strategy 1. The ES project must work within an established structure; namely, three autonomous school districts and a supervisory union. In theory, the North Country Union ES project is to do everything, for everyone, all of the time while being directed to work with those facilities, materials, and personnel existent within the system. There are drawbacks to this structural/organizational approach. It becomes too easy for 1) perceptions of the project as being an add-on, 2) less than total faculty commitment to program goals/objectives/activities, 3) physical plant facilities that might be less than adequate for program implementation, and 4) the lack of complete courses of study. In short, this structural approach and design might well lend itself to a "catch-as-catch-can" or "take-what-you-get-and-make-the-best-of-it" philosophy.

Strategy 2. A program might be developed structurally along the lines of a target student population, a hand-picked faculty and service personnel, a physical plant facility that compliments (sic) program development, and a modified teacher/student schedule that lends itself to out-of-school learning activities and teacher planning sessions as well as in-service training. With these characteristics and qualities, program attention and input can be directed toward the development of a highly sophisticated program. Because everyone and everything involved in strategy 2 is geared for common goals, all elements of a program move in the same direction of accomplishment at approximately the same time. . . .

The North Country Union ES project functions within a system. It does not have the authority to work outside that structure nor the power to supercede its administrative organization. ES is a forerunner in union-wide planning; the coordination of multi-building activities, schedules, teachers and students, materials, and policies. This is a very time-consuming and complicated process which requires a degree of retraining and self-discipline on everyone's part. The ES project, in my opinion, is still involved in the retraining phase of this change process. We have a long way to go before commitment and self-discipline are fully achieved. In truth, this goal may never be a realization within the remaining lifetime of this project.

The organizational structure of ES and North Country Union school systems calls for several levels of coordination and cooperation. The ES Director is squarely in the middle of each organization and is directly involved with each coordination activity. The component coordinators are the immediate project contacts with

> teachers. The coordinators are directly involved in and responsible for program planning, clarification of issues and procedures, and implementation in their respective areas. At the same time, the Director is involved in coordinating component activities, managing the project budget, developing building involvement at the administrative level, and helping to plan component programs.
>
> There can be as many "captains of the ship" as there are members of the North Country Union system *if this practice of shared decision making and shared responsibility are allowed. In theory, shared activities and duties sounds* (sic) *ideal but, in fact, this approach lends itself to chaos and confusion. There must be some who lead and many who follow* (italics added)! In my opinion, there are levels of shared authority and responsibility at different points along the ES/North Country Union organizational continuum which involve many different individuals and groups. Putting all elements of the ES project in their proper organizational plane and keeping them in their proper perspective is vitally important and absolutely necessary.

THE ES/WASHINGTON SITE VISIT

The next event of note for the project was the Project Officer's visit during the third week of September. On this trip he met with project personnel, including the coordinators, the administrators in the Union and with two members of the Papertown School Board. His visit was important for two reasons. First, his questions about the progress of the project reinforced the concerns of the other administrators. Second, he made positive moves to strengthen the Council, not only making it the decision-making body for the project, but broadening its focus so it decided Union-wide issues and thought of the project on that basis. In essence, he made Council members look at the project as a whole, rather than in terms of only their own bailiwicks, as they had done during the first year.

The Project Officer met first with the Project Director and the Superintendent. They discussed the revised plan that the project had submitted to him in August. The meeting began with the Project Officer and Superintendent discussing the problems of the National Institute of Education (ES/Washington's parent organization) with Congress, which at the time were serious. The following excerpt from the field notes summarizes their discussion. Note the Superintendent's statement that the project would end if outside funding were cut.

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> [The Project Officer] and [the Superintendent] talked about N.I.E. funding, about which there was some doubt because of recent Congressional actions. [The Superintendent] said that if [the local project] had funds cut because of N.I.E. having its budget cut, then the Union would probably cut off the project. He said that he did not think that the local boards would pick up any ES expenses for the project. [The Project Officer] said that having funds cut was a possibility.

In general, the three men talked about the revised project plan of which the ES/Washington Project Officer was generally critical.

Project Officer: The people involved in the planning year said that teachers didn't know how to cope with student apathy. They felt that psychological services could point this out to teachers and suggest remedies to these problems. Are you suggesting that psychological services are not for the students but for the teaching staff?

Superintendent: No, we're not.

Project Director: By Friday, as soon as [the two Paperville principals] get back to me with their plans for psychological services, we'll send you a contract which tells the specific plans for the component.

Project Officer: Aren't these problems more deep-seated than your plan indicates? How can a teacher cope with them if she only has limited training in these areas? What good are workshops if the problems are very deep-seated?

Project Director: The benefit of the workshops is that at least we can begin the process.

Superintendent: I think that with our special ed people, and with the workshops, we've made a start.

Project Officer: I'm just following a line espoused here a year ago. [The former Riverton Principal] sold people at ES/Washington on this idea of dealing with the problem of student apathy, and now, suddenly, a line [from the original plan] implying a lot of things is erased.

Project Director: That line implied a lot of services directly to students. In fact, the program was teacher-oriented to indirectly help students.

Project Officer: The change upsets Washington.

Project Director: But the revision is much more truthful about what we can do and what we are doing.

Superintendent: The change in wording came from staff dissatisfaction with the component last year.

Project Officer: You're saying that the revision is much more feasible and workable than last year's.

Project Director: The first one implied direct work with students which we couldn't get involved in.[15]

Project Officer: What can be done in the seminar/workshop you have now?

Project Director: That'll be in the descriptions of the workshops. We'll submit that when we're ready to have them.

Project Officer: Well, what do I do with the revision?

Project Director: It tells you that we will have some teacher workshops.

Project Officer: Yes, but I don't know how many you'll have, what they'll be like, what their thrust will be, or what preplanning there will be for each one.

Superintendent: To me the way you change these kids is to create a total atmosphere that provides for successes. I don't think psychological services can do it. Teachers with positive attitudes can do it, teachers with pride in their schools and communities.

Project Officer: Then you have to change teachers' attitudes.

Superintendent: Yes, and even some personnel. I think morale is more a function of staff than students' backgrounds.

Project Officer: Do you think it will take 1, 10 or 20 workshops to change teachers' attitudes?

Superintendent: No, workshops won't do it in and of themselves.

Project Officer: Well how are you going to do this?

Project Director: If they're made aware of things, some discussion of the problems of students, it can happen. The Riverton teachers want to understand the processes involved, motivation, etc.

Superintendent: [The Project Officer] is reacting to vagueness this year as opposed to last year's proposal.

Project Officer: I'm questioning the efficacy of the workshops and the commitment of the teachers to this.

Superintendent: That's a problem. They're busy with all of the things we've got going this year that we haven't had in the past.

Project Officer: How much money is in this contract [for psychological services]?

Project Director: $4,760 is available. We're still waiting for Paperville's input to their activities so that it might not entail all of the money that's been set aside. We'll let you know what it is as soon as we hear from the Paperville principals and meet with the people from the mental health center.

Project Officer: Do that. Time keeps slipping by. At the rate that you're going, some things won't be done. I'd like to see all the things work. I told you to throw out things that are not working and not include them in the revised plan. You haven't done this. It's nice to say you're going to meet four times a year, you have to say more so other people can figure out things.

Project Director: We don't work with the total system.

Project Officer: No! If you don't, then the whole thing is dead.

Project Director: I think that to try and talk to the whole thing is impossible. We can't do it.

Project Officer: There are people in Washington who are expecting comprehensive change, not piecemeal change.

In addition to being critical of the revised plan, the Project Officer was also critical of the project's success thus far, and the directions in which he perceived it to be moving, especially the change in emphasis from students with deep-seated problems to teacher training, and its lack of comprehensiveness. Regarding comprehensiveness, a little later in the meeting he summarized his views about the degree of comprehensiveness exhibited by the project, saying:

> These things were talked about before the project began. If you said, hey, we can't do this, I could buy it. But don't tell me you haven't had enough time because that's not true. If you look at the project from a dollars-per-student point of view, it's an awfully expensive prep school for a few students.

Regarding the revision, the following exchange occurred:

> Project Officer: The revision is a revised plan.
>
> Project Director: The intent was to simplify and clarify the accountability for project activities.
>
> Project Officer: Time lines and objectives are not clear in this. Implementation, going through page by page with the original plan, I don't see much that was cut out. The aim was for you to come up with a viable plan. You should know what should be cut out. I thought you would have separated some things you didn't think could be done. From this I know there are things you want to do, but I don't know any objectives or timelines. Five people who read it said there was no planning. People said that it told what you wanted to do but not how you were going to do it. I am not the only one who reads this. Others read it who don't know who or what you are.

The ES/Washington Project Officer also met with the members of the Council which now included the head teacher from Woodington who had been made a member at the Project Officer's insistence. One outcome of the discussion was the realization on the part of all the members of the Council that they really did not know what the purpose of the Council was. Confusion about its purpose is apparent in the following excerpt:

> Prior to this, Council members had been discussing problems with the formal approval process that ES had to go through in order to spend money for workshops and to purchase equipment and materials. Generally, the Project Officer said that all they had to do was to send in the request with the Quarterly Report, which effectively meant 3 to 6 months' lead time for approvals.
>
> Assistant Superintendent: It looks as though the hang-ups [in getting approval] are here.
>
> Project Officer: Yes, I'd say that. Generally things are approved if they are close to the plan.

Riverton Principal: For the forestry course, when would this request have to go in?

Project Officer: By October, but only if it is planned.

Riverton Principal: I've been trying to get [the career/vocational coordinator] to call [a local forester] and decide on a course outline and equipment. Who is responsible for seeing that this is done? Do I sit down with [the Project Director] or what?

Project Director: [The career/vocational coordinator] should sit down with him.

Project Officer: I'm confused. According to the chart [showing the governance of ES] the Council Plans and [the project director] carries out the orders of the Council. You should do the planning for things.

Riverton Principal: I didn't know that. I don't know my immediate responsibilities and powers.

Project Officer: The machinery is there for you to decide to what degree you get involved in a problem.

Assistant Superintendent: [Agrees.]

Project Officer: If all schools are doing different things, we're wasting money. We want things and plans to help all the students in the Union. ES should help all students in the Union, not just a few.

Paperville High Principal: Quite frankly, that's what's going on.

Project Officer: I don't hear students mentioned when you talk. The third and fourth grade teachers don't even know what each other is teaching. Can anyone explain this chart to me?

Woodington Teacher: I agree with your comments. Motivating students is a real problem, especially in Woodington where they tend to come from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Project Officer: How would psychological services be used in your school?

Woodington Teacher: They would work with the teachers to help them find out how to motivate students in the language arts. They would deal ways of getting the kids to relate language arts to the things that are around them.

Paperville High Principal: When we were doing the needs assessment, there was a strong feeling that the kids needed to build a strong positive self-image. I hoped psychological services would help us foster better images among the kids. This would help the learning process.

Project Officer: That was taken out with the revision. Did you know that the statement of purpose was revised?

Project Director: The type of thing that we went with last year did not work. The letter from [the new director of the mental health center] dealt with things like behavior modification which would directly benefit classroom teachers. These are things they feel would be helpful. Last year we just tried to do some things, we were guessing what teachers wanted.

Project Officer: Was the Council in on this?

Project Director: I don't know if it was in on all of this.

Riverton Principal: No we weren't.

Project Officer: How the hell can you have a comprehensive plan? I keep hearing fragmented reports from left, right and center field.

Riverton Principal: That's harsh. We do discuss things. In July we discussed the revision. The coordinators presented the revisions to us and we talked more about specifics with them. My opinion of the Council was negative. First we did last year's plans. We provided input. Now I see it as a planning board. I did not know what the function of the ES Council was. I was sending in requests to help kids in Riverton, [the Paperville High Principal] would do the same for Paperville, but we wouldn't interact.

Project Officer: Well, what does this [project organization] chart mean then, or does it mean anything?

Paperville High Principal: My role in the building, we don't have this sort of thing. This chart evolved to this form because the principals and [the Superintendent] felt they should have more of a say over what was occurring in their building than the Director of ES, and that the Council was to review plans and make decisions over what was going to go and what wasn't.

Riverton Principal: I thought it was just advisory.

Project Officer: Where is the power in the Union?

Paperville High Principal: With the Superintendent. He's the big man.

Riverton Principal: I think you're right.

Assistant Superintendent: The question is, do you feel that you have input into this? [The principals agree that they have input.] Do you feel you, as a group, are in control?

Paperville High Principal: Control-no. Input-yes.

Assistant Superintendent: Well, what are we going to do about it: If the Council isn't working, what'll we do?

Paperville Elementary Principal: It says the Council is the decision-making body, but all we did was toss around ideas.

Project Director: Decisions were made but they seldom were made on a Union-wide basis.

Project Officer: You are going to have to work together if you want to see this comprehensive plan work. It's a comprehensive plan that we bought. If I see a bunch of mini-programs, that's fine, but they have to be comprehensive. In the long run it's the students who are getting shafted.

Riverton Principal: They're not getting shafted. I question the overall necessity of ES. We haven't used the Council as we should. I have gotten my favorable input into ES but I went to [the Assistant Superintendent and Superintendent] for most of my input. If I wanted program implementation, I went to [the Superintendent]. We didn't take advantage of the Council, but the kids didn't get shafted because I went around ES. We got things done. With my pilot program, I bypassed the Council.

Paperville Principal: This thing [ES] is a well and we're all coming and taking a dip from it. We haven't been planning union-wide enough though there have been some changes this year.

Having gotten the Council members to see that the Council was not working as they, the people in North Country Union, had envisioned it when they designed the project and the Council, the Project Officer pushed the members to explain the chart outlining ES governance. One implication of the chart was that the Superintendent would oversee, but not sit on, the Council and this came out in the discussion (See Figure 1). During the discussion, the Council members agreed that the Project Director, who was not formally a member of the Council, should, in fact, become a member.

The ES/Washington Project Officer also met with two Papertown School Board members. During his meeting with them, he tried to make them see that ES was their project, not Washington's, and that they were ultimately responsible for its success.

Project Officer: I wanted to meet with some School Board members I haven't met before. I want to know your feelings regarding ES, how it's working thus far, and what [ES/Washington] can do for you as you move ES along. I want to know how you and the community feel about ES.

Mrs. R.: I think there is a lack of understanding of what ES is and what it's trying to do. Another concern people have is whether we can carry out things after the [federal] money is gone.

Project Officer: Were you in on the planning of the program?

Mrs. R.: No. The man on the street doesn't know anything about it. Sure there have been articles in the paper, but...

Project Officer: Are parents aware of ES?

Mrs. R.: I don't think most of them are.

Mr. J.: I agree. Somehow it should be made, the word about ES should be spread. I don't know how it should be done but there should be more hoopla on the program: here's what's been done and why and this is the amount of money involved. I don't think we've sold it in the school system. I know there are problems at the high school with ES.

Not only was there an apparent lack of understanding of ES among community members, but even the School Board members had little awareness of the progress of the project or of their responsibilities toward it.

Project Officer: Do you as board members know what's happening in the Experimental Schools Project?

[Both agreed that they did not know as much as they should know.]

Project Officer: Do you know if the NIE plan (sic) is being implemented?

Mr. J.: No, not really.

Project Officer: Then the people in the communities and the board are somewhat in the dark about the purposes of ES and its progress to date?

Mr. J.: Yes, I'd have to agree to that.

Project Officer: Do you not get the right information about the project? Are presentations about the project made to the board? Is the board the policy-making body in the Union?

Mr. J.: Yes, it is. Reports have been made to the board by [the Project Director]. We've had information on the project.

Project Officer: You signed the original contract with ES/Washington?

Mr. J.: Yes, we did. I have had a hard time knowing what my role is, what [the Superintendent's] and [the Project Director's] roles are. I felt we got the grant, we were in on the start of the project, but it wasn't up to us to publicize it.

Mrs. R.: Maybe we should be challenging ES for more information.

Project Officer: When you signed the contract, you assumed a responsibility. I'm sure the person who negotiated the contract told you you were responsible to see the things you wanted in the project got done. What I hear you saying is that it's the Project Director and Superintendent's responsibilities. You don't handle routine [North Country Union] business that way, I'm sure.

Project Officer: In the plan you submitted, there is mention of student apathy, frustration, lack of educational relevance. One purpose of the project was to change these things, to ease the apathy, frustration and lack of motivation. Was that P.R. or a genuine concern of the community?

[Both agree it was a concern.]

Mr. J.: Should we go out and get the pulse of the community to see if there is less apathy?

Project Officer: No. Now that you have the money there are things you thought would work. They are in your plan. You have the responsibility to see [the Superintendent and the Project Director] implement the plan. Otherwise, how are we going to erase the apathy and frustration? Regardless of ES, you should see that they are implementing your policies.

Mr. J.: How do we do this?

Project Officer: If you know your plan, you will find ways to develop reports to see that the project is being implemented, and there are benchmarks you will develop.

A little later, the following exchange occurred between the Project Officer and a board member. It is important because it indicates that some people in Paperville still did not regard ES as their project.

Project Officer: You created this project and now you seem to indicate that you can't get commitment from your [teachers and principals].

Mrs. R.: We didn't create this project. Riverton did.

The Project Officer emphasized the board's ultimate responsibility for the success of the project. When he did, he heard criticisms of the project from the board members.

Mrs. R.: I think there is more money in the project in salaries than there is for the kids. We have a director and coordinators of language arts and outdoor education and career education.

Project Officer: But it's not costing you any money.

Mrs. R.: The kids aren't getting any benefit from the money.

Project Officer: That's a problem with the plan.

Mr. J.: Or its implementation.

Project Officer: I'd say both. And that's the responsibility of the board. It's your plan. Do I make any sense?

Mr. J.: Yes, I guess I can understand where you're coming from. I feel you have some feelings about ES though you haven't really voiced them. We accepted the money, submitted the plan, and have hired some people to run it. We've been satisfied with the results without looking too deeply into it. I guess we've been too busy to look into it.

Project Officer: Are you elected?

Mr. J.: Yes.

Project Officer: With this project you're responsible to the U.S. government.

Mrs. R.: If ES went away, no one would really mind. I'd like the money spent in other directions. Outdoor education isn't necessary. We live in the woods. I'd incorporate the money into a building trades program and build a house.

Project Officer: I'm worried that the board doesn't understand ES. This is not a plan that was shoved down your throat. The plan was written by the community. Now that you have the money, I'm concerned that the board is not interested in the education of kids. This is supplemental money to enhance what's already here. I get the sense people feel this is being shoved down your throat.

Mr. J.: Suppose we thought everything was OK with ES, would you be here?

Project Officer: Yes, I'm the Project Officer.

Mr. J.: It's been enlightening to us to find out what our position has been. We have been concerned about the program but we've been willing to take at face value the reports we get.

Mrs. R.: We've been guilty of passing the buck.

Project Officer: But the buck stops with you.

Mrs. R.: I didn't know that.

Project Officer: These are supplemental funds. They're to add to what you've got. They're not to do things you should be doing.

Mrs. R.: There won't be any additional outlays, will there?

Project Officer: Is this the first time you've heard all this?

Mr. J.: No, but we haven't come to grips with it before.

Mrs. R.: If you took ES out of the schools, no one would know it's gone.

Project Officer: This is your project. You submitted your plan to us. You said there was genuine concern for the education of kids here. We didn't force this plan on you. We accepted the plan you sent us. It's just that simple. We've talked about the organization chart. I won't come to [the Superintendent] or [the Project Director]. I'll come to you if things don't work out. You've assumed responsibility for this project.

Mr. J.: If we can't manage it, then pull it out.

Project Officer: Why don't we say my dissatisfaction would be eliminated with leadership and direction? I haven't implied that the grant will be cancelled.

Mr. J.: Perhaps you should cancel it.

Project Officer: A Project Officer's role is to support the project in every possible way, to offer all the technical assistance needed. He is the conscience of the project. All project officers who work with me are interested in seeing to it that their projects are a success. All of them believe that the people who who wrote them had a dream for the education of kids. Our expectations are no higher than yours. As project officers we think it is our responsibility to tell you, the board, the project director and superintendent of schools, if we think you're spinning your wheels. We feel we're acting in behalf of the children of the community.

Mrs. J.: I think it's high time I heard what your concerns are.[16]

Mrs. R.: What part does the Advisory Board play in all of this?

Project Officer: I don't know.

Mrs. R.: I don't either.

As the above indicates, the Project Officer tried to impress upon the two school board members that the success of the project was their responsibility. His tactics were blunt and to the point. The board members responded to his exhortations by ultimately suggesting that the project be removed if they were not managing it properly, by criticizing various aspects of the project, and by suggesting that removal of ES would be negligible in its effect on the schools. They also indicated that they were not totally aware of the many aspects of the project and of their responsibility for it.

The next day the Project Officer met again with the Superintendent and Project Director to discuss his visit. He summarized some of his observations which, given the nature of the grilling he had been giving people in the Union, were surprisingly positive.

Project Officer: I talked with the Council and the coordinators. The Council's attitude has changed since May. It's much more open and cooperative. I put that in the memo you sent them.

Superintendent: Good.

Project Director: I heard a lot of positive things, talking with them.

Superintendent: The Council members have to be held accountable to seeing things get done and the project works.

Project Officer: There has to be some follow-up on activities. I thought it was a good meeting with them. I was concerned when [the language arts coordinator] left, but [the new coordinator] looks like he'll fill in well. I thought I got across to people what I meant to be in the plan. [The Project Director] is going to have to be more visible in the buildings than he is now. Most people said they don't know what ES is or is about. You have to make people aware of what we're doing with these supplemental funds. We want to see an attempt made to get the project off the ground. The Board should be made aware of the work that is being done. I hope the budget requests don't come in between financial reports. Someone implied that they got a budget request honored because of pressure and it's really not true, because it was honored because I really wanted to support [the Project Director].[17] Next time I come to [New England State], I'd like to visit classrooms to see how the Scott Foresman material is being used, and see the math and science program, and see if I can get a sense of teacher commitment. It's hard on these short visits to get a sense of what's going on in the classroom.

Superintendent: Good. I have that problem too. It's hard to know what is going on in the classroom. What is the date for that meeting with the full board? I'll try to arrange it.

Project Officer: Whenever they want it, it's OK with me.

Project Director: Mr. J. wanted it to be a separate meeting.

The Project Officer also brought up the issues of project governance and the Project Director's ability and power to implement plans. In bringing up governance, the Project Officer clearly implied that the actual governance of the project should reside with the Council and the Superintendent should leave the Council and have it report to him. He said:

> You'll have to clarify [the Project Director's] role. That chart confuses me. I know where the power is from listening to people talk. I don't know if the Project Director has the clout to implement programs.

The visit, the last by an ES/Washington Project Officer for a full year, left three impressions. First, the Project Officer was disappointed with the progress of the project to that point. Not only had little been accomplished, but also there were indications that no planning and governance were occurring on a union-wide basis. As a result, each school in the Union was doing its own planning and not taking into account the plans and actions of the other schools. Further, the schools were using the project as a source of special and supplementary funds in a cynical and ad hoc manner. The central problem the Project Officer saw was the failure of the Council to plan union-wide. The Project Officer indicated that he wanted the project governed the way the ES organizational chart indicated it would be governed, with the Council reporting to the Superintendents as a means of remedying the problem of inadequate union-wide planning.

FUNDING THE BUILDING TRADES PROGRAM

At the beginning of the school year the Superintendent appointed a committee to look into the possibility of establishing a building trades program in North Country Union. Earlier in the year the North Country Union Board, at the urging of the Chairman of the Papertown School Board, went on record as favoring the establishment of a building trades program. The committee was composed of the Chairman of the Papertown School Board, the shop teachers from Riverton and Paperville, the Superintendent of schools, the ES career/vocational coordinator, and several citizens from Paperville. The coordinator had the responsibility for gathering information for the committee on building trades programs and curricula in school districts similar to those in North Country Union. He was also responsible for gathering information about costs, especially materials and tools and equipment, that would result from a building trades program.

One area of interest to everyone was the role ES would play in the program, in particular, how much money ES could contribute to the program. The Project Director was opposed to having ES play a major role in the building trades program. He and his staff saw the program as a cynical attempt to exploit ES for its financial resources.

During the Fall, plans for a building trades program began emerging. The Union would form a trust which could borrow up to $20,000 from the local bank. This money would be used to pay an instructor's salary, purchase materials and any necessary outside construction (digging and pouring the foundation, heavy landscaping), and pay for the land for the house, although the president of the paper mill had said he would donate land for the first house to the Union. Because most of the labor for the house was student labor, the house would likely be sold for a healthy profit which would repay the trust fund and finance building the next home. Perhaps the most attractive aspect of the program was the fact that it would be self-supporting.

The program would be for juniors and seniors. During the junior year, students would take courses in surveying, architectural drawing, and basic house-building skills (framing, basic wiring, etc.). These courses would be preparation for the senior year when the stduents would actually construct the house. Generally, seniors would take their regular courses in the morning and would work on the house in the afternoon. Actual work on the house would begin in the summer with the digging and pouring of the foundation. This was necessary in order to insure closing in the house by the advent of cold weather.

Implementing a program like this one on a union-wide basis would necessitate coordinated planning between the two high schools. The building trades instructor would teach the junior courses in the morning. He would have to travel between the two schools to do this. In the afternoon, he would have to bring the students from both high schools to the site in Paperville to work on the house. And then, at the close of the school day, he would have to return them to both schools. Thus, the course schedules of both schools would have to be arranged around the requirements of the building trades program.

Of course, the building trades committee was interested in knowing how much of the program costs ES would pay for. The director and career/vocational coordinator discussed this and came up with $2,100 to be used for the tools, equipment and materials for the junior year courses. Needless to say, this was not the figure that some members of the committee had in mind. The Chairman of the Papertown School Board was particularly unhappy with this amount and he informed the director and coordinator of his feelings.

In December the building trades committee met and presented ES with a request for approximately $17,000 for the building trades program. This amount covered all expenses except those associated with the actual building of the house. The following excerpt from my field notes describes the reaction within ES when the career/vocational coordinator brought the request to the Director of ES.

> I was at the ES office when the career/vocational coordinator came in with a disgusted look on his face and showed a paper to the Project Director. He told the Director that the Building Trades Committee was asking for $17k from ES, and that

all there [on the committee] had "gone up and down the program." The Project Director looked at the figures and became upset and called the Project Officer in Washington. He told the Project Officer that he did not think there was any educational value in the building trades program and that the committee was just coming to the well for money. He told the Project Officer that the program would only benefit 10 students and he asked the Project Officer for something in writing to back him up on his refusal of the request. The Project Officer told him that he would call the Superintendent and then get back to him.

I asked the career/vocational coordinator what had happened and he said that the committee recommended asking for $17k from ES. He said that the Paperville shop teacher said that no one was getting anything out of ES; the chairman of the Papertown School Board said that they, the schools, did not need outdoor educational and psychological services; a local businessman on the committee was negative; and the Superintendent did not defend the project in any way. He said that he was tired of being the only one defending the project.

The request had a negative effect on people at ES.

The language arts coordinator and level 1 evaluator [who were present when the request came] expressed disapproval of the meeting as it was relayed to them by the career/vocational coordinator. The language arts coordinator said: "Ignorance wins again. I never heard a more ignorant person than [the chairman of the board] and around here ignorance is power." The level 1 coordinator picked up a letter from the secretary and said: "Well, here's my job for next year." The career/vocational coordinator said in reference to the members of the committee: "What a bunch of fucking shitheads." The Project Director was also demoralized. He said that on Friday the Assistant Superintendent had come to see him and had suggested that there was $10k in the ES budget which could be used for the building trades program. The Director disagreed with the Assistant Superintendent and said that this money would have to come from psychological services and that he thought it would be better spent on staff development activities. He said: "If he wants this job, he can have it." He also said that it looked as if the Superintendent had washed his hands of the project and turned it over to the Assistant Superintendent. He said that he would not work just for the money, that he had to do things that he thought were right and would quit if forced to [do otherwise]. He said that he was now taking things on a day-to-day basis and might not be around Thursday [this was Monday] when the Union Board met.

A little while later the phone rang and it was the Project Officer. The Director talked with him. He said that the Project Officer said that there would be nothing in writing to

> back up the Director, but that he would try to make it to the meeting and gave the Director the names of two people he could talk to about his problem. The Director said, after the call, that he would have to think things over since he did not get the letter he wanted from Washington. He saw the building trades dismantling the ES project and not being related to ES anyway. He said: "If they wanted a building trades program, why didn't they put it in the proposal in the first place?" He said that he didn't think that they would be able to get the money for the program from ES because Washington would not approve it because the building trades was not in the proposal. He also said that if they forced him to give them the money he would make it an add-on which would never be approved by Washington.

The Superintendent reported that the Project Officer in Washington called him and told the Superintendent that the Project Director said that if the building trades program did not get $17,000, the whole ES project would be in jeopardy. The Superintendent told him that he did not hear it that way. He told the Project Officer that he had heard the committee saying that if it did not get $16,000 or $17,000 from ES, it might be better if the committee did not ask ES for any money at all. The Superintendent said that he thought the career/vocational coordinator might have misconstrued the attitude of the committee when he relayed the proposal to the Project Director. Thus, the Superintendent toned down the claim of the Project Director, apparently enough so that the Project Officer felt he did not have to intervene in the situation.

Sensing that ES was not prepared for the request that would be forthcoming from the committee, the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent met before the actual request was presented to the ES Council and discussed how much money they thought ES could contribute to the building trades program. He said that he thought they should do this because the building trades was a program that the Union Board wanted, that ES was reluctant to commit much money at all to the program, and because a number of the building trades program's costs could legitimately be included in the ES project's career/vocational programs. After examining the ES budget and the proposed budget for the building trades program, they concluded that ES could legitimately pick up about half of the $17,000 for building trades. He said: "I think they can legitimately pick up some of the costs. These go beyond the costs of the mini courses. The program can pick up some of the instructor's salary as well." Both the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent knew that funding the building trades program at the level they were thinking would affect other aspects of the ES project. The Superintendent said that the Project Officer had told them on his visits to the site that ES could cancel any aspects of the project it thought unsuccessful and thus, he and the Superintendent were suggesting cancelling psychological services and transferring funds from this component, as well as funds for materials and clerical help from the other components into the building trades program. They also thought that the local school districts could pay for the adult education aspects of career/vocational education, and the money for this could be transferred to the building trades program. This last proposed transfer had an added advantage in that the Union could claim that it was evidence of the local district's picking up an aspect of the ES project. The money from these sources, plus some from the ES carry-over funds from the previous year would supply about $9,600, the amount the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent thought ES could legitimately contribute to the building trades program.

The day of the Union Board meeting, the ES Council met to consider ES's response to the request from the Building Trades Committee. In anticipation of resistance from the Project Director, the Assistant Superintendent spoke to the principals of Paperville High School and Riverton School the day before the Council meeting. He told them he was concerned that the Project Director might "drop the ball with respect to building trades" and not make a positive presentation to the Union Board regarding it. As a result, both the principals were prepared to work with the Assistant Superintendent and prepare a proposal, based on his and the Superintendent's work, for presentation to the school board. This was not necessary, however, because the Project Director did in fact prepare a proposal regarding the building trades program. At the meeting the Project Director told the Council members that he thought that ES could supply $9,693 for the building trades program. This would pay one-half of the instructor's salary--the portion devoted to teaching the mini courses in building trades--and provide for materials and equipment for these courses. The Director told the Council:

> I think an 11th grade building trades program can stand alone and it might help the students more than only partially buil-

> ding a house. I'm trying to be as honest as I can and get $10,000 for the program because influential school board members and the Superintendent want this. I think this will let it stand on its own merits with Washington.

The Assistant Superintendent suggested that the Council declare the building site a worksite so that ES could contribute $1,500 for transportation of the students to the site. Shortly after throwing out the idea of putting an additional $1,500 in the budget for transportation in the building trades program, the Assistant Superintendent made a formal motion that the amount be added to the budget. A discussion ensued which indicated that the principals were confused about exactly what it was they were approving. In addition to considering establishing the building trades program, a building trades mini course for spring 1975 also entered the discussion. The principals did not seem to know very much about any of the ideas being proposed. However, a motion was passed by the Council to accept the Assistant Superintendent's summary of what the Director should tell the board. That evening the Project Director, backed by the Assistant Superintendent and Superintendent, presented the proposal to the Union Board. The chairman of the Paperville School Board, the chief backer of the building trades program, expressed disappointment with the proposal. He said:

> I'm disappointed with this figure. I thought twice the amount would be presented to Washington. I presented this idea to [the Project Officer in May], the Board approved it, and the committee hoped you would present this to [the Project Officer]. How did you cut this figure in two to arrive at this figure?

Though a number of reasons were given for arriving at the specific figure, the Superintendent summarized the position of the project on the issue:

> I think there are good reasons for coming up with this figure. We signed a contract with Washington and we have to stay within the parameters that have been set by it. We may be stretching the contract here. To be honest with the project and morally within the contract, this figure is fair.

The chairman argued that the project should ask for more money but the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent persisted in their stand that this was all ES could ask for. The discussion ended with ES asking for $9,696 plus $1,500 if a house were built and it was declared a worksite. Interestingly, there was no mention at the meeting of the distinction between skills and building a house which been discussed so thoroughly at the Council meeting earlier.

After the meeting, the chairman of the school board indicated to the Superintendent that he was pleased with the amount of money ES had come up with. Several days later a member of the building trades committee also indicated pleasure that ES would contribute so much money. He attributed the success to the chairman of the school board's strategy of asking for all of it while hoping for anything.

Thus, a building trades program was born in North Country Union with ES making a major contribution to it. The career/vocational coordinator was put in charge of setting up the curriculum and arranging for the building of the house by securing a contractor to put in the cellar over the summer.

ACHIEVING UNION-WIDE IMPLEMENTATION

As has been noted above, the second implementation year of the project started out inauspiciously. The work-site program was halted, at least temporarily, because of problems with the State Labor Department. Outdoor education was without a coordinator because the coordinator had been moved to language arts when the previous language arts coordinator resigned unexpectedly. And Washington was obviously upset with the progress of the project and the way it was being run.

Two of the above problems, suspension of the work-site program and a lack of an outdoor education coordinator, could be solved fairly easily and were. After a number of meetings between the Project Director and career/vocational coordinator and representatives of the Departments of Education and Labor, the worksite program was resumed. Likewise, after placing some advertisements at state colleges and with the State Department of Employment Security, a new outdoor education coordinator was found. She differed from the other coordinators in that she had previous experience in outdoor education.

The third problem, lack of progress in the ES project, was not so easily remedied. The reasons for the lack of progress were manifold. They included hostility towards the project and/or project personnel on the part of some teachers and principals in the schools, selective commitment to the project by other teachers and principals, lack of leadership within the project, and apparent inability to perform on the part of at least the career/vocational coordinator.

The "solution" to the last and most serious problem occurred as a result of the efforts of the Assistant Superintendent. He was the driving force behind a number of things which collectively led to the in-class implementation of the outdoor education and career vocational programs as well as a union-wide remedial reading program for seventh and eighth graders. The Assistant Superintendent pushed for implementation in a number of ways. He consistently pushed the Council to function on a union-wide basis rather than on an individual school basis as it had in the past. He made sure that the ES project evaluated its personnel and set specific deadlines and benchmarks for evaluating their behavior. He also pushed the Project Director to make sure that the various elements of the project were evaluated in a concrete manner. Finally, he made it clear to the principals of the various school buildings that he expected them to back up the project and see to it that their teachers cooperated with its leaders. In doing all of these things the Assistant Superintendent became the de facto leader of ES.

The Assistant Superintendent's concern that the Council function as the Project Director wanted it to, that is, on a union-wide basis, had surfaced shortly after the Project Officer's visit. At the October 9 Council meeting, the Assistant Superintendent brought up the issue of the scope of the Council's concern by asking pointed questions about the nature of the decision under question. This can be seen in the excerpt from the October 9 Council meeting where the members were talking about the psychological services contract that was going to be presented to the local mental health group.

> Assistant Superintendent: Who decides whether the program is union wide or school wide or what?
>
> Paperville Principal: I think we should do this as a group and get away from doing things on a building-by-building basis.
>
> Assistant Principal: Who decides what is done in the specific workshops?

Project Director: We decide that.

Assistant Superintendent: Who is "we?"

Project Director: The Council as a whole.

Paperville Principal: We have to get away from doing it on a building basis like we did in the past.

Project Director: This will be a contract and we will decide when the workshops will occur, what they will involve, and who will be there.

Assistant Superintendent: Let's punctuate that.

By causing Council members to focus on union-wide ES activities, the Assistant Superintendent actually was leading the Council to assume responsibility for the entire ES project in North Country Union. No longer could the principals be concerned only with the ways in which ES affected them and their buildings; they now had the broader responsibility of overseeing the entire project and insuring that it would be implemented. A little later in the year, the Assistant Superintendent emphasized the principals' responsibility when the Council was discussing the specific plans the project had for implementing various in-class programs.

As has been stated, the second way the Assistant Superintendent pushed for implementation was through evaluation of ES personnel. The emphasis on evaluation was part of an overall emphasis on evaluation within the Union. The new procedure involved the principals' doing performance evaluations of staff earlier than they had in the past. Three deadlines were established for performance evaluations. The first, November 15, required principals to notify the central office of any teachers whose performance was questionable or unsatisfactory. At this time, central office personnel might become involved in evaluating people in trouble. The second deadline was January 15, at which time teachers in trouble would receive an official notice that their renomination was in jeopardy unless their performance improved. The last deadline, March 15, was the date that official notices were to be sent to teachers who would not be renominated for a position within the district.

These deadlines also applied to ES project staff members. However, the evaluation of ES personnel would be done not only by the Project Director, but also by the principals on the Council. In addition, however, the principals and Assistant Superintendent would also evaluate the project as a whole.

The issue of evaluation of ES personnel did not arise until December. At that time it arose out of concern over the performance of the career/vocational coordinator. The specific catalyst for concern about the coordinator was the building trades program which Council members were discussing. The principals complained that they were being forced to plan for a program about which they knew very little. The responsibility for their lack of knowledge was laid on the career/vocational coordinator. The upshot of the meeting was that the Project Director was told to tell the career/vocational coordinator that his job was on the line, and that unless his work improved, he would not be renominated. The important point of this meeting was that it marked the first time the Council as a whole had made a judgment about the performance of a coordinator.

Related to the issue of evaluation was the Council's calling for detailed plans from all coordinators regarding their activities for the year. This was part of the Assistant Superintendent's plan to establish responsibility for actions within the Union. Once the calendar of activities was created and approved by the Council, the person whose activities were detailed would be held responsible for seeing to it that the activities were carried out successfully. All ES personnel had to create calendars, including the Project Director, and they were examined and scrutinized by the Council.

A main part of the activity calendars was the implementation of various components. The in-class implementation of outdoor education and career education occupied prominent parts of the calendars. The calendars were presented to the Council in January and approved. In both career education and outdoor education the Council, led by the Superintendent, suggested changes to hasten the implementation of the components.

The Assistant Superintendent also took a central role in the Council with respect to the principals. In essence, he told principals that they were responsible for seeing that their teachers cooperated with the coordinators as the programs were being implemented.

In addition to meetings with the Council, the Assistant Superintendent also met individually with the Project Director and virtually told him

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what to do in regard to the project. In essence, he told him how to do some very basic aspects of his job. For example, he coached the Project Director on his Union Board presentation of the proposed building trades program.

> Assistant Superintendent: The Union Board Meeting is coming up and I'd like to talk about your presentation. We never have very many people at these meetings and you will be on deck about 7:30.
>
> Project Director: What do you expect from us?
>
> Assistant Superintendent: You should give an interim report of where we are in the project. I'm oriented to the objectives myself. Apart from yourself, I think no one else cares about them. You might go down the list of objectives using some audio visual aides. You could bring them up to date on where we stand on these. If any objectives are inoperative, mention it. If you want the Board to put aside objectives, do so. Make a chart which shows objectives and where you are. Make sure you mention that implementation will occur.
>
> Project Director: So what we're talking about is a progress report, an in-depth presentation about the project. It's important that the coordinators be seen as part of the project. It's an overall presentation on my part backed up by presentations of some type from the coordinators.
>
> Assistant Superintendent: May I suggest that if you're going to have coordinators speak, you should know what they're going to say and how they're going to say things. I think [the career/vocational education coordinator] is ho-hum. He doesn't give the impression that things are definite or positive. I get the impression that [the language arts coordinator] does not prepare his talks very well. With [the outdoor education coordinator] she says things like "neato." I think the people should prepare for this talk. Your project needs a lift. [The career/vocational education coordinator] sounds like he's making it up on the way. I think your team needs more of an aura of professionalism about them.

Out of this context of increase administrative pressure, the Council decided in January that each elementary teacher was to do eight lessons in career education and eight in outdoor education by the end of the year. The specific lessons had been prepared during the summer and fall in curriculum workshops using basic conceptual outlines in career education and outdoor education. Each lesson card (see Appendix B) was self-contained in that it provided an objective, activities designed to meet the objective, a list of materials needed, and space for a summary evaluation of the lesson by the teacher. The overall plan was to have the teachers use the lessons or write and present their own lessons in career education and outdoor education, evaluate the lessons, and, at the end of the year, have 50 or so tested and revised lessons in each of the areas.

Teachers' reactions to the demand for at least eight career education and eight outdoor education lessons were predictably unfavorable. The teachers resented the added work and, in some instances, resented ES mandating that they do the work.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: Here are some dates in a [handout] you should keep in mind. You should prepare and implement a lesson in your class by these dates and evaluate it with this evaluation guide. As you can see there is also a mandatory workshop for elementary teachers. It will run from 3 to 5.

Teacher 1: It's mandatory?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: Yes. The principals decided that it was. With respect to the lessons, you should use the concept on the card and do the lesson with what you've already planned in the classroom because time is short already. What do you plan to do next week?

Teacher 2: A unit on transportation.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: Beautiful. L___ is going to have a person come into her class and talk about that. You could get in touch with her about that. When you're done with the lesson, hand it in to [the principal]. I'll collect it on Friday and we'll have a collection of lessons for teachers to share. S___, what do you plan to do?

Teacher 1: What if you don't have social studies? [In second grade social studies is not taught.]

Career/Vocational Coordinator: It doesn't have to be part of social studies. Mrs. J___ is incorporating it into a project on early and modern explorers. The fifth grade in Paperville is doing a project on banking and that will be part of the lesson cards.

Teacher 1: Do you have to bring someone into the classroom to do it?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: No.

Teacher 1: Why does this fall on us to do and not on you and the other coordinators?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: You're the teacher, not me.

Teacher 1: Suppose I don't want to do the lessons, then what?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: You'll have to see the principal about that. If he says it's okay, it's okay with me.

Teacher 1: It will be a real pain in the neck for me to do this.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: You're the first person to complain about it.

Teacher 2: She teaches second grade, that's why.

Teacher 1: You don't know the kids and what they're like. It will be a real pain getting it into the schedule. I spend the majority of the day on reading and math.

Career/Vocational Coordinator: With [the remedial reading teacher in Paperville Elementary School] I gave him Popeye comic books to use for career education.

Teacher 2: Do you have the books at the right level of the kids here?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: That's a problem.

Teacher 2: Popeye books have to be translated before the kids can understand them.

Teacher 1: It's not in my contract that I have to do ES. It seems like ES is in their offices telling us what to do when there's no mention of ES in my contract. You're really not answering my question by saying "see the principal."

Career/Vocational Coordinator: To load on another thing while I'm at it, they want you to do eight of these lessons by the end of the year. There is a directive from [the Superintendent] on this. It says that teachers have to do it though they can do it in a variety of ways and satisfy the requirement. If you want to use guest speakers for this, I'll supply them for you.

Teacher 2: I could do eight lessons on one topic like transportation and satisfy you?

Career/Vocational Coordinator: There was some talk about this at the Council. I think they'd be concerned about doing eight on one topic. I'd ask [the Principal] about this. I heard through the grapevine from the Assistant Superintendent to my boss that there will be a career education program in place by the end of the year or else.

Shortly after the above conversation, the teachers learned the full extent of the work they had to implement. In Riverton the elementary school teachers raised the question of compliance to the principal. An excerpt from the field notes indicates what happened.

> At the end of school I left the classroom I was observing and was standing in the hall talking with a teacher. Most of the other elementary teachers were also standing and talking when the principal happened by. [The first grade teacher] asked him if it was true that they had to implement the 16 lessons as they had been told by the coordinators. One teacher, the second grade teacher, complained that it wasn't in their contract that they had to do this. She also asked why the ES people couldn't do the lessons themselves. All of the teachers were sympathetic with the complaints, as far as I could tell. One even asked what exactly ES's role was in the school system. The principal responded by telling them that the Superintendent wanted the project implemented, that the Council had decided on the number of lessons to be done, and that the teacher had little choice in the matter.

Though the teachers initially and vocally resisted implementing the in-class program, the majority ended up doing something that fell under the broad outlines of career education or outdoor education. (Two sample lessons are presented in Appendix C.) Some of the lessons and experiences that were called career or outdoor education were routine classroom activities that were simply renamed in order to fulfill the requirements for the programs. For instance, one teacher had a science unit on trees planned. These became part of the environmental education program. Another class took a trip to a nearby fish hatchery, something that was a yearly event since the 1950's, and this was labeled a career education activity. Many teachers did take the time to create special lessons, however, and use ES materials to fulfill the program requirements.

Not every teacher did 16 lessons. Several teachers did many more than the required number because of interest in the subject matter. Several at Paperville Elementary School did no career education lessons. The reason for not participating was the career education coordinator; all of the teachers disliked him and refused to have anything to do with the program he created. As far as I know, these teachers were not punished for their non-compliance.

Language arts activities for the year did not involve teachers in as direct a manner as did environmental education and career education, with the exception of the reading series the component had provided them. The coordinator involved himself with three main tasks for the year. These were creating a K-12 language arts skills list (see Appendix D), establishing remedial reading programs in Riverton and Paperville for 7th and 8th graders, and publishing a monthly paper called Kids' Corner which contained samples of elementary students' writing.

To begin work on the K-12 skills list the coordinator met with teachers in Woodington School and asked them to list the language arts skills they presented to students in their classrooms. He also asked them to describe their expectations regarding the various skills: did they acquaint the students with a concept or skill, expect mastery of the skill by the end of the year, or expect partial mastery of the skill?

There was a fair amount of confusion about what the coordinator wanted. Some teachers did not understand what he wanted from them, some others did not understand why they had to do this when the reading series came with sequential skills lists, and a few felt defensive because the children they dealt with were farther behind than those in other schools; in particular the students from Woodington were culturally behind the students in Paperville.

After introducing the idea behind the skills list to the teachers, the coordinator met with smaller groups of teachers in the schools and proceeded to try to develop the list from the "bottom" (kindergarten) up. In doing this he was aided by pre-existing skills lists and by the fact that

Paperville Elementary School was moving to a skills-based report card system. However, some teachers in Riverton and Woodington had serious doubts about the Union-wide character of the skills list. They claimed that it was unreasonable to expect that students from their schools would be on the same level as the students in Paperville and, as a result, the students in the former schools in a given grade would not necessarily be exposed to the same concepts and skills as their peers in Paperville. The disagreement over the Union-wide character was eliminated when it was decided to limit the curriculum guide to just the skills taught in each grade and not have any indication of the level of skill attainment expected in the grades.

The curriculum guide was completed by the end of school. It was presented to the Council and accepted. Actual use of the skills list was left to the particular school buildings. Paperville Elementary School used it in conjunction with their revision of the reporting system.

The second major activity for the language arts coordinator was establishing a union-wide remedial reading program for 7th and 8th graders. During the previous year, language arts sponsored remedial reading at Paperville High School. In October, after the Project Officer's visit to the site, the Council met and decided that language arts should establish a union-wide remedial reading program for 7th and 8th graders. (This was another example of the Council's making Union-wide decisions.) The responsibility for establishing the remedial reading program was given to the language arts coordinator.

In order to establish the remedial reading program, the coordinator had to do a number of things. He had to create the program, that is, decide what should be taught, find people to teach the classes, and present a proposal describing the program to the Council for approval. An additional complication for the remedial reading program was ES/Washington. Because money had to be set aside for the program to hire one or more part-time teachers, Washington had to grant permission to North Country Union to let "service contract" to the teachers. This was complicated by both a lead time for submitting such budget requests to Washington (3 months) and Washington's tardiness in approving requests that were sent in on time. The Council quickly approved a budget for the program and the request was submitted in October. Approval to hire the part-time teacher(s) came from Washington in January.

The first task confronting the coordinator was establishing the focus and aim of the program. He had two choices in these matters. First, the program would be traditional, designed to bring students closer to their grade levels in reading skills. He did not favor this approach because he felt it would have to be begun before a student reached fourth grade.

The other approach, the one he favored, was to establish a functional reading program, aimed at bringing students to a skill level where they could function in society. This meant that students would be able to read and comprehend such things as newspapers, employment applications, appliance warranties, etc. The aim was to provide students with the minimal reading skills they needed to function in society.

From a practical viewpoint, the main difference between the two approaches was the materials that could be used. In a traditional approach, the materials would consist of textbooks of the "high interest, low difficulty" variety. Vocabulary and comprehension skills would be taught and student progress would be assessed by means of standardized tests. The functional program, while using some "high interest, low difficulty" materials, would use materials from the "real world:" newspapers, employment applications, etc. Progress would not be assessed by standardized tests but by teacher's assessment of the progress of the students.

The coordinator presented his proposal for a functional reading program to the Council which accepted it and authorized him to hire a teacher or teachers to implement the program in the schools. Finding a teacher for Paperville High School was no problem. The Assistant Superintendent gave the coordinator the name of a retired teacher who lived in Paperville and she was hired. Finding someone to teach in Riverton was more of a problem. After a number of attempts at hiring someone, the coordinator finally had to teach the program himself. He began in late April in order to have a program during the school year.

During the second year, a large number of study carrels were purchased for the schools. The decision to purchase them was made in the summer but, because of production delays, the carrels did not arrive until December. The carrels were purchased with language arts money. The original plan included the carrels as part of the individualization that was going to occur in the schools. The driving force behind this idea was the founder of the ES in North Country Union, the previous principal of Riverton

School. However, by the time people began thinking about buying the carrels, the original plans for the carrels were either forgotten or ignored. In Riverton School, the new principal wanted some of the carrels to start a foreign language lab. In line with this, he asked ES to supply the needed audio equipment for a language lab but this was turned down by the Council. Nonetheless, a large number of the carrels ordered for his building were used in the foreign language building. In Paperville High School, the carrels were placed in the library to be used as desks. In the elementary classrooms of Paperville and Riverton, the carrels, generally one to a room, were used either as storage for materials and books or as an isolation area for children who misbehaved. One problem with the carrels in the elementary grades was that they were much too large for the children to use, being more suited to senior high students or adults.

CONCLUSION

Thus, the second implementation year was an important year for ES in North Country School Union. Pressure from the ES/Washington Project Officer and from the central administration of the Union brought about the implementation of outdoor education and career education programs in the elementary grades. This occurred because the principals were made responsible for seeing to it that their teachers cooperated with the ES project and because ES personnel were responsible for seeking out teachers and making sure the teachers used the materials. In this way, North Country Union came closer to achieving Washington's objective for union-wide comprehensiveness but, ironically, there was less "grassroots" participation in the various project components because decisions were being imposed by the central administration downward.

Another important event during the second year was approval of the building trades program. This came about because of the power and persistence of the chairman of Papertown's Board of Education, whose strategy led ES to provide the bulk of the funding for the program.

The 1974-75 school year ended with a series of presentations by ES project personnel to the local school boards. This time they had ample evidence of progress in the schools, and the reports were well received.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE THIRD OPERATIONAL YEAR AND BEYOND

The third implementation year was not characterized by additional innovations in the component programs of the North Country project, but rather by a continuation and extension of activities that had been developed and implemented in the previous two years. Beyond overseeing activities in the classroom, project administrators were involved in planning for the phase-out of ES funding. In many cases, once the funding ended the components were effectively abandoned. After describing project activities during the third implementation year and the planning for project phase-out some predictions are made regarding the likely lasting effects of ES. A final section summarizes this work and highlights the key points and factors in the development of ES in North Country Union.

PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Once administrative support and backing for ES was shown, program implementation became less of a problem in the schools. Though they might not have liked it, teachers were willing to comply with the demands that ES put upon them. Part of the reason for this was the fact that many ES activities counted towards teachers' staff development requirements. Thus by building ES activities into staff development programs, teachers could easily and inexpensively acquire hours towards meeting state-mandated staff development requirements.

The activities of the third year were, for the most part, extensions of previous activities to additional grade levels, or the continuation of existing activities. Little that was new was attempted during the 1975-76 school year.

Language Arts

In language arts, no new activities occurred during the third year. The coordinator oversaw the remedial reading programs for grades 7 and 8 in Paperville and Riverton. In contrast to the previous academic year, he was able to find part-time teachers for the program, introduced it to them in the fall and then met with them periodically throughout the year to check on their work and help them with any problems that might have arisen. In fact, few problems arose, probably because the part-time teachers had had experience teaching and because the program being in its second year in Riverton and third year in Paperville, had had any "bugs" eliminated that might disrupt it.

The coordinator also published Kids' Corner magazine quarterly during the year. Because of a shortage of funds, the magazine of elementary student writing had to be printed on white paper as opposed to the colored paper used the previous year. In addition, the coordinator also helped a high school English teacher in Riverton publish a magazine of high school students' writing called Bits and Pieces. It included samples of students' writing from Paperville and Riverton.

During the course of the year, the coordinator met with teachers individually and in groups. Generally he acted as a resource person who worked with them on the task at hand. Some of the meetings centered on revising the skills list that was prepared the year before. Others dealt with other language arts issues such as helping the Paperville Elementary School teachers set goals for revising their curriculum. He also met with teachers in the beginning of the year to answer questions they might have regarding the reading series that had been adopted Union wide.

With regard to the reading series, a minor crisis arose in January in Riverton School. There the elementary school teachers had complained to their principal that the Scott Foresman reading series was too advanced and difficult for their students. They wanted to stop using it and substitute another reading series. The principal called the language arts coordinator and asked for his help in dealing with the teachers' concerns. He helped resolve the problem by 1) scheduling a workshop for the teachers on how to use the system, 2) meeting with the teachers and explaining the system to them, especially the way the system introduced skills to students, 3) asking for (through the principal) and receiving the school board's endorsement of the system, and 4) comparing the results of the past year's Gates-McGinty testing with the current year's which showed positive gains in reading skills since the introduction of the Scott Foresman reading system. These

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efforts allayed some of the teachers' concerns, though not all, as some of the teachers still thought that the system was too difficult for the students (a concern the coordinator had voiced privately on occasion), and the system was continued throughout the year.

The coordinator also arranged a number of visits by teachers to other schools in the state. These visits, for which the teachers received staff development credit, were for the purpose of showing local teachers other systems of individualized education. The coordinator also arranged several workshops for teachers. One used the services of the local mental health clinic to show teachers different ways of dealing with under-achieving students. This workshop was scheduled in two sections, one for elementary teachers and one for secondary teachers.

The only potentially new language arts activity concerned a proposed radio station for North Country Union. Both the language arts and career/vocational coordinators worked on this proposal because it encompassed both of their areas. The idea for the radio station originated in the Spring 1975 Union Board meeting. At this meeting the chairman of the Riverton School Board made a motion that ES look into the feasibility of setting up a radio station for the Union. He said that, since other nearby school districts had radio stations, it would be nice if North Country Union had one. (He may have been inspired in this idea by the success that the Chairman of Papertown School Board had with his proposal for a building trades program.)

To prepare the proposal for the radio station, the coordinators visited several nearby radio stations to find out about setting up a station. They also examined the federal (FCC) regulations concerning radio stations and the costs associated with a radio station. Though most people--the coordinators and school administrators--thought the idea of a radio station was foolish, all considered it because the idea emanated from the Union board. ES/Washington was not very enthusiastic about the idea, but then Washington had not been enthusiastic about a building trades program either, and the Union had still ended up with one.

ES finally developed a proposal which it presented to the Union Board in the fall. Reluctantly the Board recommended against establishing a radio station. The main problems were 1) the cost of establishing and running a program, 2) adequate supervision of the station, and 3) the problem of red tape in getting the station approved. When the proposal was turned down, a number of people (ES members and school administrators) breathed a sigh of relief.

Environmental Education

During the 1975-76 school year the main activities in environmental education were either a continuation of past activities or the extension of activities into new grade levels. The field trips in the spring and fall continued as in the previous year. However, teacher interest in the trips increased. One teacher from Paperville High School prepared an elaborate presentation based on a trip to the local woodlands. This became a "lesson" which could be used in the future. The weekend hiking and camping trips were also continued, though bad weather remained a problem as usual.

Use of the in-class lesson cards continued in the elementary grades. The lesson cards were expanded to include the high school during the third year. The environmental education coordinator met with the social science and science teachers in Riverton School and Paperville High School to develop lessons. In Paperville, this was incorporated in a revision of an earth science curriculum which was under way. In Riverton, the efforts were more modest and eventuated in a number of specific lessons to be taught by the science or social studies teacher.

Another activity the environmental education coordinator engaged in was trying to establish nature trails near the schools which could be used by teachers during the school day. The previous year interest arose in the "nature center" which was in the original plan. The coordinator looked into several sites, none of which was suitable for development. Thus, the idea of establishing nature trails near the school arose. The coordinator found suitable land near the schools, received permission from the landowners for use of the land, and began developing the trails. Part of the plan was to give responsibility for the trails over to the Advisory Board which had been revived during the third year. The plan was to have Advisory Board members coordinate and participate on trips during the next year.

The coordinator also tried to establish outing clubs in the high schools during the latter half of the 1975-76 school year. These clubs would assume responsibility for weekend trips after the coordinator left the project at the end of the school year. The clubs were set up with faculty members who had participated in the weekend trips as sponsors.

Career/Vocational Education

Probably the most important activity in the entire ES project during the third year was the building of a house as part of the building trades program. A number of high school juniors had received training in carpentry and surveying in mini-courses the previous school year. Work on the house started in the fall, with a minor delay caused by the inability of a contractor to pour the foundation on time. Work on the house progressed throughout the year, and by the end of the school year, most of the construction had been completed; the only remaining work was some painting. An open house for townspeople was held with a large number of people coming to view the home. An article describing the program and its results appeared in the local paper. Everyone associated with the program or familiar with its results was very pleased with the quality of the work done. Clearly, the building trades program was a rousing success for ES and North Country Union.

The career/vocational coordinator also set up adult education courses in the areas of arts and crafts. Courses like these had been offered for the past two years and had become an established part of the curriculum.

Mini-courses in small engine repair and fly-tying for high school students were set up by the coordinator as they had been in the past. This year there were no major problems associated with the courses as had occurred in past years when people complained that the courses were not set up properly or that students were left unsupervised.

In-class career education activities took two forms. At the elementary level, use of the career education lesson cards continued. The coordinator also was in charge of the distribution of a film series on careers, Bread and Butterflies, that was supplied by the state. He arranged the schedule for showing the film in the elementary classrooms and saw to it that the teachers received and returned the film on time. At the high school level, the coordinator, in conjunction with the guidance counsellors and social studies teachers in school buildings, set up a career seminar program in which outside speakers would come to the social studies courses in the high schools and talk about their occupations.

The work-site program was also a part of ES in the third year. The building trades house site was an added work site this year, in part because this designation allowed the ES project to pick up transportation costs to and from the site. Other sites included local gas stations, nearby hospitals, Paperville Elementary School and the Paperville Papers Company. (The last work site did not include the secretarial and office practices students from Paperville High School who also used the office of the paper company for a practicum. Integration of ES career/vocational education and the business department in Paperville High School still had not occurred.)

Career education also sponsored and funded a number of field trips for students in both the elementary and high schools. These trips were initiated by individual teachers and ES provided funds for transportation. The sites visited included nearby companies and factories.

The other major event in career/vocational education, beside completion of the house, was the appointment by the Council in the spring of the third year of the career/vocational coordinator as North Country Union's career/vocational coordinator. This was done at the urging of the Superintendent of schools. At the beginning of the ES project, plans were made for the career/vocational coordinator to become Union vocational director, perhaps at the level of Assistant Superintendent, when the project ended or began phasing out. Elevating the coordinator of this project component to career/vocational coordinator for the Union, with direct responsibility for all current career and vocational programs, was a first step in that direction. The second step would occur later when the Union Board would be asked to add a vocational position to the Union staff, that is, in the Superintendent's office.

The position as outlined gave the career/vocational coordinator responsibility for all career and vocational education in the Union. He was a "super department head" in the words of Paperville High's principal and would be responsibile for all administration of the programs (purchasing materials, managing the departmental budgets, etc.) and for evaluating the business programs, but not its personnel.

The Council reluctantly authorized the new position for the coordinator. No one on the Council thought highly of the coordinator. All had severely criticized him in the past and had grave doubts about his competence, ability and desire to do his current job, much less the new one which would require many more skills--particularly interpersonal ones. In fact, a serious attempt had been made to fire the coordinator during the previous year, and he had received a warning from the ES Council that his performance was unsatisfactory. The warning came in the form of a threat to withhold an increment in his salary if his performance did not improve. Ultimately, the Council voted to grant him his normal increment.

The proposed change in the administrative structure of the departments and the Union was presented to the business teachers at Paperville High School by the Project Director. The Assistant Superintendent, the career/vocational coordinator and the high school principals were also present at the meeting. When the Project Director finished his presentation, the teachers' reactions were immediate, vocal and negative. The basic complaint mentioned by the teachers was that the new position was not needed. One teacher said that it added "another bureaucratic layer between me and the principal. This won't increase communication, it'll decrease it." Another said that the change looked as though the administration thought that the teachers were doing a poor job, to which the principal of Paperville High School replied that that was not the case. A third said that it appeared that the teachers were already doing a fine job and did not need any more supervision than they already had. The teachers' complaints were to no avail.

After the meeting one teacher said, "The real issue isn't what we said in there. It's the person. No one thinks he's any good. If they named some other person, no one would have said a thing about the new position." Thus, ironically, both teachers and administrators shared the view that the career/vocational coordinator should not get the job that he was being given.

The teachers did not stop here with their protest. A group met with the Superintendent over the issue. Prior to their meeting with the Superintendent, however, the principals, Assistant Superintendent and Project Director became aware of the proposed meeting. Their response was that since they, the administrators, had decided that the career/vocational coordinator should be given the new position, the teachers had no say in the matter. After the teachers met with the Superintendent, who would not back down in the decision, threats were made to bring the matter before the School Board, where there might be support for the teachers since several members admittedly thought the career/vocational coordinator was incompetent. This possibility caused great concern among the administrators. The Assistant Superintendent said that if the Board did not back the administrators on this matter, the Board would be giving the teachers de facto control of the schools, something that the Board would live to regret dearly, especially when contracts were drawn up. The high school principal and Project Director agreed wholeheartedly with the Assistant Superintendent.

Ultimately, the issue was not brought before the School Board. Several teachers threatened to resign, but did not. With the closing of school for the year, the issue was forgotten. However, the career/vocational coordinator did gain power within the Union, though it was uncertain how far he could go since the Chairman of the Papertown School Board stated explicitly that no funds from the Union would be paid for his salary as long as he was chairman.

Psychological Services

Psychological services as a distinct component ended during the previous year. In the third year, representatives from the local mental health clinic provided seminars and workshops as part of other components (language arts) on educational issues such as the under-achieving student and the disruptive student.

Level I Evaluation

Level I evaluation activities for the year were the same as in previous years. The Level I evaluator collected data on the number of students and teachers affected by the project. These data were used in presentations to the school boards and in the various ES reports sent to Washington. The evaluator also administered a test, the Cornell Awareness Inventory, which purported to measure career and occupational awareness among students. The results of this test were used to evaluate the career education program. In one instance, specific recommendations for increased work opportunities in a particular occupational area resulted.

Summary of Third-Year Activities

The third year was probably the calmest year for the project. Only two major crises arose and one, the promotion of the career/vocational coordinator to a position of direct authority over teachers in the business and vocational education departments, stemmed from matters and concerns outside the project per se, and was resolved outside the project as well. The other crisis, the attempt by the principals to limit the last years of the project to only language arts (which will be discussed below), was quickly resolved by the Superintendent.

As has been shown, the activities for the year were extensions of previous activities to different grade levels or the continuation of activities from previous years. Teacher resistance was less pronounced and progress occurred in all areas. Overall, most students were exposed to the project in one way or another. In the elementary grades, most students benefited from language arts in the form of books purchased by ES funds, career education lessons, and environmental education lessons. Older students were touched by the vocational programs and by some language arts activities. In Paperville High School all students were affected by the purchase of language arts texts. The biggest success of the third year was the house that was built and subsequently sold by the school district.

All in all, by the end of the third year, the project had come a long way. It began with little in the way of operational programs and struggled through a difficult first implementation year in which little progress in affecting students was made. The second implementation year saw a major push into the classroom with various programs. By the end of the third year, most, if not all, of the students in North Country Union had been touched in one way or another by the project.

PLANNING FOR PROJECT PHASE-OUT

Under the terms of its contract with ES/Washington, the local ES project was supposed to plan for phase-out during the fourth and fifth implementation years. This meant two things: each of the three local districts would begin assuming some of the costs of the project and its programs, and the total number of project staff and personnel would decrease over the final two years. Thus one activity of the third year was preparing for phase-out. This meant planning the activities of the fourth and fifth years, and their associated budgets.

Work on phase-out occurred in the early part of the third implementation year and involved the administrators of the Union. At one point in the process, the principals voted to have the fourth and fifth years devoted exclusively to language arts. They thought that weakness in language arts was the most serious problem facing the schools, and that by concentrating ES efforts in the final years, more positive results would accrue than if ES efforts were diffused into a more diverse set of activities. (And such a change in focus would also eliminate the need for a career/vocational coordinator, to which none of the principals would have objected, though no one actually voiced this as one of the benefits of an exclusive language arts focus.)

When the principals brought their desire for continuing only language arts activities during the final years of the project to the Council, only the Project Director voted against the motion. The Project Director was very upset by the proposal, and viewed it as an attempt to destroy the integrity of the project and as evidence of their lack of commitment to it. The Project Director took his concern to the Superintendent who disagreed with the principals' vote. The Superintendent met with the principals and overruled them on this matter. The result was that all components would remain in the project for its duration.

The key idea in the phase-out plan was the establishment of resource centers in each school building. The resource centers would contain all of the needed ES materials which teachers would use throughout the year. Currently, many ES materials were stored at ES headquarters on the third floor of Paperville Elementary School, and the materials were brought to teachers by coordinators. The resource centers were made necessary by the fact that the number of project personnel was being cut back. In the fourth year, the Level I evaluator's position was to be eliminated entirely and the environmental education and language arts positions would be merged on a 1/3 environmental education- 2/3 language arts basis. The career/vocational position would be full time for the fourth year. In the fifth year, the combined language arts/environmental education position would be eliminated and the career/vocational position reduced to 1/2 time. Only the Project Director's and secretary's positions were to remain full-time throughout the fourth and fifth years.

One important assumption of the phase-out plan was that all of the programs would be developed and in place by the end of the third year. The possible exceptions to this were the lesson cards for environmental and career education for high school students, where only portions of the lessons would have been developed and used by the end of the 1975-76 school year. In these instances, the coordinators would be responsible for added lesson development and implementation during the fourth year to fill out the programs.

The coordinators' roles would not change during the final years of the project. The coordinators would function as they had in the past on programs in their respective areas. An important aspect of the coordinator's role would be purchasing and collating materials for the resource rooms in the buildings. The importance of purchasing supplies for the component areas can be seen by the size of entries under "instructional supplies" for each component area in the budget (see Appendix E).

Examination of the proposed budget also shows the extent to which the local school districts assumed project expenses during phase out. During the fourth year of the project, 1976-77, the local districts assumed financial responsibility for half of the building trades instructor's salary, most of the cost of adult education, some instructional supplies and some transportation costs. These accounted for about 9 percent of total project costs ($8,750 out of $96,130) in the fourth year. With regard to the building trades instructor's salary, the original plan was for the local districts to assume all of his salary after the first house was sold. It was partly on this basis that the program was "sold" to ES. However, at the prompting of the Chairman of the Paperville School Board, the Superintendent had ES assume half of the costs of the building trades instructor's salary for the fourth year of the project.

During the fifth year of the project, total costs of the project were estimated to be $60,407. Local costs would be $17,765, almost 30 percent of the total budget. Almost half of the cost of the fifth year, $30,182, was for administrative and clerical salaries to pay the Project Director and his secretary. The ES/Washington Project Officer for North Country Union voiced some concern about the fact that half the final year's money was for administrative costs. He questioned whether the project director's position should have been included in the final year and suggested that the Superintendent or Assistant Superintendent could administer the project during its last year. Basically, the Project Director's activities during the final year would involve writing a number of reports, including a final progress report, and the Project Officer thought that someone in the central administration could do it. However, the Superintendent was adamantly opposed to eliminating the project director's position. He said that neither he nor the Assistant Superintendent was going to run the project during its last year and write the necessary reports. He said that if Washington were unwilling to fund the project director's position, then the project could end in the fourth year. Washington did not push the issue and the director's position remained in the budget.

SOME LIKELY LASTING EFFECTS OF THE ES PROJECT

One question that remains to be answered concerns the issue of which elements of ES are likely to remain a part of the schools after ES is phased out. Obviously, this is not an easy question to answer, but attempting to do so may be useful in understanding ES in North Country Union. To answer the question it will be helpful to treat each component of the project separately, beginning with the Council and the issue of Union-wide planning.

The Council

Continuous Union-wide planning as evinced by the actions of the Council in the second and third years was something that was new to North Country Union. Little such planning had occurred in the past. Contemporaneous with the ES project was the staff development committee's work which was another example of Union-wide planning. The creation of a plan was state mandated and required cooperation and joint action among school districts in order to be accepted by the State Department of Education. This program, like ES, originated externally and was mandatory, which may account for its Union-wide character.

With some exceptions such as staff development, Union-wide planning and cooperation will probably decrease after ES leaves. The basic structure of authority and responsibility in the districts has not changed. The primary units within the Union are the separate school districts. The key to Union-wide planning is shared tasks requiring, at a minimum, input from the building principals and funding from the districts. These conditions will not exist on a regular basis within the Union.

On a limited basis, there are several programs which offer possibilities for Union-wide planning. The building trades program requires the high school principals to plan their class schedules together so students in Riverton and Paperville can participate in the building trades mini courses and house construction. Staff development will also require some joint action among the districts to schedule workshops and ensure that there are consistent interpretations of the requirements for staff development among the schools and districts. Beyond these two programs, I see little that is currently in the Union which will promote common planning among districts. Tradition, finances, laws, differing needs and priorities all argue for a reduction in the amount of Union-wide planning after the termination of funding from ES/Washington.

Career/Vocational Education

A key factor in many of the activities of the career/vocational education component is whether the Union will retain someone to administer the components's activities. As noted above, the Superintendent wanted the Union to hire someone for this, and his plan was to have the career/vocational coordinator do this, first by having the Union pay half of his salary in the fifth year of the project and subsequently all of it. However, there was strong opposition in the Union to this, some of it based on the personality and reputation of the coordinator. A key factor in the opposition was the

School Board's opposition to adding an additional position to the Union staff. Whether the Superintendent can change attitudes of board members on this issue is uncertain. If the role of career/vocational coordinator is incorporated into the Union, then it is likely that much of the career/vocational component will persist in the schools. If not, then much of the program will become tenuous. My expectation is that the Union will not establish a career/vocational program if the Union has to pay any of the salary at the end of ES. Such a position may come eventually--when there is greater state support for it--but not immediately.

Assuming the Union will not establish a career/vocational position, what will happen to the elements of the career/vocational component? With respect to the career education lesson cards, a number of things are likely to happen. First, use of the lesson cards will decrease because the principals will not give their use the support or attention they gave it in the past. That is, the principals will find it easier to avoid the conflict with their teachers that occurred when they pushed them to use the lessons. Individual teachers will use the lessons at their own discretion. Some will make extensive use of the cards because of their own interest in career education, while others will use them hardly at all. This will be the case at all grade levels. Further, lack of a coordinator and of funding for the component will mean a reduction in the number of career-oriented field trips, classroom visitations and replacement of worn out or broken materials.

The work-site program will suffer severely without a coordinator. Unless someone is appointed to manage it, the work-site program will end quickly. The building principals are too busy to manage it. The opening of the area vocational center for Riverton (Paperville is already served by one) is also likely to reduce the need for a work-site programs.

Adult education will also probably wither without a coordinator. Paying suitable teachers and arranging for classrooms and meeting times requires effort and time from someone. Without a coordinator, at a minimum, the number and variety of offerings will decrease after ES leaves. If there is any reduction in demand from townspeople for adult courses, the whole program will quickly die. My expectation is that the adult education program is most threatened in Riverton and Woodington.

The building trades program seems destined to last after ES ends. There is strong support for the program in the community and in the schools. It appears self-supporting and provides a certain amount of prestige for people in the Union. Further, at least for the short term, sale of the houses through the initiating of the paper mill seems assured. (According to knowledgeable people, the first house was sold to a new manager in the mill who was told by the president of the mill to buy a home in town, the best house being the building trades house.) The only expenses for the homes are for materials, land and the building trades instructor's salary, all of which can be covered by sale of the homes. As far as I know, the program is well supplied with tools and instructional materials and will require very low expenditures for these items.

The only limiting issue for the building trades program is demand for housing in the area. The North Country is not growing and there is a surplus of homes available in some neighboring towns (one was reported to have 80 houses for sale). There may be a very real limit to the number of homes that can be built and sold. However, until this limit is reached, the building trades program is likely to prosper.

Environmental Education

The same observations apply to environmental education lessons as apply to career education cards. Use of the cards will be a matter of teacher discretion and some teachers will, and some will not, participate in the program. This means that the program will lose its programmatic nature--that is, its continuity and development. The only exception to this may be in Paperville High School, where environmental education has been built into the earth science curriculum.

Day trips and weekend hiking and camping experiences will decrease. Though an attempt was made to start outing clubs in the high schools during the third year of the project, they are unlikely to generate the enthusiasm and commitment needed to sustain the program.

Language Arts

Use of the Scott Foresman reading series will continue in the schools. However, there is a chance that teacher dissatisfaction in Riverton with the series will lead to its replacement with another series. Off-setting teacher dissatisfaction, however, is the penuriousness of the Riverton School Board, which will be very reluctant to replace it with a new reading series.

The language arts skills list will fall into disuse unless it is incorporated formally into the educational process. Such incorporation has been occurring, however, in Paperville Elementary School where the report cards are based on the skills list. Elsewhere nothing like this has occurred, and in these schools it is unlikely that the skills list will receive much explicit attention from teachers.

Remedial reading in the 7th and 8th grades may continue in the future. The real question here is school finances. If finances are a problem, one component school board members may want to cut will be remedial reading. This will be more likely in Riverton where school budgets have been cut regularly since 1970. In Paperville some may question whether the high school remedial reading program duplicates the remedial reading program at the elementary school. If this issue is raised, then the high school program may be in jeopardy.

Level I Evaluation

Level I evaluation will not be continued in any shape or form.

Psychological Services

Psychological services will revert to pre-ES format with people from the local mental health clinic dealing with students on a referral basis. However, there is a chance that some psychological service workshops may occur during the school year as part of staff development plans and activities.

SUMMARY OF KEY FACTORS AFFECTING THE NORTH COUNTRY UNION ES PROJECT

Some elements or factors hindered the progress of the project. Taken more or less chronologically, these include origin of the project, structure of the supervisory unions, lack of a clear concept of comprehensiveness, lack of leadership in the planning year, a vague and over-ambitious plan, retaining the first Project Director as career /vocational coordinator, failure to have programs ready for the first implementation year, failure to resolve the conflict between the career/vocational coordinator and Paperville High School, failure of the project to develop relations with school personnel, lack of administrative support for the project, and limited staff competence.

Origin of the Project

The idea for ES in North Country Union originated with the principal of Riverton School. The other school districts in the Union were brought into the project at Washington's insistence. (In fact, one of Washington's hidden agendas was to see whether loosely structured entities such as supervisory unions could accomplish Union-wide change.) The fact that the idea for the project originated in only one district meant that, from the very beginning, there were differences among school districts in interest and commitment to the project. Some people in Paperville and Woodington did not sense any need for a project like ES and regarded it as something forced on them by an outside school district.

Structure of Supervisory Unions

Supervisory Unions are administrative units designed to perform some central supervisory functions for one or more autonomous school districts. Although the Superintendent is intended to be the educational leader in a union, in North Country he occupies himself more with administrative and financial details than with educational policy. The real power and resources within this union reside with the three school districts, each of which is governed by its own school board. The policy-making and educational unit is the district or individual school building, with a key actor in these areas being the school building principal.

The structure of supervisory unions obviously impedes centralized planning and decision making because few people within a union see the "big picture," and because there are real restraints on anyone's ability to commit funds and people to union-wide activities. These centrifugal tendencies are exacerbated when the school districts in a union vary in resources and needs as they did in North Country Union. Add to this the fact that there had been very little joint action and planning in the past by the school districts, and it is a wonder that the Union accomplished anything with respect to ES objectives.

Lack of a Clear Concept of Comprehensiveness

The events of the planning year indicate that people in North Country Union lacked a clear idea of what was meant by "comprehensive." Much of the interaction between ES/Washington personnel and local people appears to have been clouded by the fact that the local people wanted to find out what they had to do to write a good proposal, something which the people in Washington could not tell them. In the end the local people decided to include just about every idea (except the building trades idea!) that had been brought up and discussed in any of the numerous meetings.

Lack of Effective Leadership in the Planning Year

The original Project Director was clearly ineffective. He alienated just about everyone on the planning committee and in the schools. He also failed to get the committee to function as a group, set priorities or plan effectively.

A Vague, Over-Ambitious Plan

The result of the structure of the supervisory union, uncertainty about comprehensiveness, and the lack of effective planning leadership was an unduly ambitious, vague document which promised to do something for everyone in the schools, regardless of the feasibility or necessity of the particular activity or component. The document provided little clear direction for action during the implementation year and diffused energies and talent, both of which were in short supply, among a wide variety of programs.

Retaining the First Project Director as Career/Vocational Coordinator

Given the widespread distrust and dislike of the original Project Director, it probably was a mistake to keep him on as career/vocational coordinator, the most important and difficult coordinator's position. The Superintendent refused to remove this person from the project for several reasons. Primarily, he did not think this person's prior performance as Project Director was as bad as made out by ES/Washington's representatives. Certainly, his performance did not warrant his being left without a job for the following year which would have been the case since his former guidance position in Riverton had been filled and a contract extended to the incumbent for the next year. In addition, the Superintendent and others in the Union resented Washington's attempt to determine whom the Union should hire or fire. Washington's action on this matter was perceived as an unwarranted and illegitimate intervention into local affairs and prerogatives. Thus, the original Project Director was retained as career/vocational coordinator, and the result was constant conflict between the coordinator and the various people in the schools, especially those in Paperville High School. The conflict did not help the project. It took peoples' attention from other issues, created repeated "crises" for the project, and damaged its credibility.

Failure to have Programs Ready for the First Operational Year

The ES project began the first operational year without any programs ready for implementation. Much of the first year's work was devoted to creating programs. Several project components were rushed into existence and suffered accordingly as things went awry. Essentially all work on ES stopped in February 1973 when the planning document was sent to Washington. Originally, there was to have been some program development work in the spring, but it never occurred for several reasons. One was the conflict between the core group and the union administrators which led the latter to dismiss the core group. Another reason was the first project director's leaving to complete his Ford Fellowship.

The end result of the cessation of project activity in February 1973 was that the project lost the little momentum or enthusiasm it had developed, despite all its problems, in the planning year. This momentum was not recouped during the summer of 1973, and the program started the 1973-74 school year without any components ready for implementation. This meant that little substantive progress in implementing programs was made during the first year of the ES project, which only served to discredit it further among teachers and some principals.

Failure to Resolve the Conflict between the Career/Vocational Coordinator and Paperville High School

Conflict between the career/vocational coordinator and members of the business and shop departments in Paperville High School went on for too long a period without resolution. The ES project, particularly the Project

Director, did not deal effectively with the conflict between his coordinator and the people in the building. The Project Director should have confronted face-to-face all parties to the conflict to see if some resolution of the issues could have been achieved. If such a confrontation were structured properly, the Project Director might have been able to force the building principal and Superintendent or Assistant Superintendent to back the project and force compliance with the project from the teachers.

Instead of dealing with the conflict directly, the project dealt with it in a round-about manner. Teachers registered complaints with their principals, who turned to the Project Director for mediation between them and the coordinator. In no case would all of the parties to the conflict come together to clear the air and resolve the issue. Furthermore, there was little, if any, follow-up to see whether a successful resolution had occurred. Instead, the conflict between people in the high school and the coordinator festered for three years, during which time the coordinator increasingly avoided the building.

Failure of the Project to Develop Relations with School Personnel

It seems that an important task for ES project personnel, including the Project Director, was to create effective informal relations with teachers and administrators. To do this would have required frequent contact with school people in which ES staff got to know the school people on a personal, "non-business" basis. The contact would have increased the visibility of the project in the schools, and would have allowed both ES staff members and school people to get to know each other as people, and not only as teachers, coordinators, Project Director, etc. Such informal contact would have made both ES project and school personnel sensitive to the needs, expectations and concerns of one another. With this increased awareness of each other, some of the conflict and problems that ES encountered would have been reduced or avoided.

Instead, the ES project maintained very formal relations with the schools. At the Project Director's insistence, the project operated "by the book" through formal channels. Despite repeated requests from principals and ES/Washington Project Officers, the Project Director refused to establish informal relations with people in the Union. He hardly ever went for coffee or lunch with principals, teachers or coordinators. Instead, he and the other project members tended to stay on the third floor of Paperville Elementary School. They went to the schools only when necessary. This encouraged a kind of "siege mentality" among project personnel which only exacerbated the already strained relations with the schools.

Lack of Administrative Support for the Project

For most of its early years the ES project did not have strong, visible support from the administrators (Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent) in the Union. They may have supported the project personally, but they did not do a good job of communicating the support publicly and officially. Only when the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent made it clear to the principals early in the second implementation year that they, the principals, were being held responsible for the success of the ES project in their buildings, did widespread implementation efforts occur. Thus a key element in the tardy implementation of the project was the absence of visible administrative support.

Limited Staff Competence

Locating and retaining qualified, competent people is a problem for North Country Union schools; it may be even more of a problem for short-lived projects like ES. Most of the coordinators lacked formal training or a high level of expertise in the areas for which they were responsible. Only the former Riverton principal and the second environmental education coordinator had training and/or experience in their respective areas. The Project Director had many curriculum and administrative skills needed for his job; however, he lacked the interpersonal skills which were needed for effective leadership. With a different, more skillful cadre of people, ES might have accomplished more, or might have accomplished what it eventually did, more easily.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite all of its handicaps and problems, ES managed to accomplish many things during its three implementation years. Career education, environmental reading, and a new Union-wide reading program are among its accomplishments. Some of the programs started by the North County ES project may continue after federal funding ends.

Are there any lessons to be learned from the North Country ES experience? One, I think, stands out, which should have direct applicability to other school districts. This is the importance of administrative support for educational improvement programs. In particular, the North Country ES story indicates the vital importance of the participation and support of building principals in program development and implementation. Without their wholehearted support, implementation is difficult to achieve. And one way to get that support is to hold them responsible for implementation within their buildings. When this occurred in the North Country Union, many problems were solved at the building level and thus never got beyond the building to divert or confuse programmatic actions at higher levels. The result was a reduction of conflict and rapid program implementation.

Although it is difficult to accurately predict the lasting effects of ES in North Country, it is probably safe to say that the discontinuation of funding will likely lead to a declining interest in such areas as outdoor education and career/vocational education. However, the building trades program which potentially is self-sustaining, is likely to continue and, furthermore, to require a certain amount of inter-district collaboration. On the whole, however, the pattern of district independence and principal and teacher autonomy is apt to persist, and the apparent effects of ES, such as improved reading skills and standardized evaluation of teachers, may not long be recognized as being attributable to the ES project.

NOTES

[1] (p. 37) Students continued to participate in harvesting and sugaring well after the turn of the century. Their participation created absences which became a problem for the schools because state aid to the schools was tied to daily attendance. The superintendents frequently complained of absenteeism in the school reports. For instance, in 1923, the Superintendent wrote in the Riverton *School Report*:

> I am calling attention to the waste of money occasioned by absence. This is in part excusable, and in part it is not. Sickness accounts for part of this. But negligence and unnecessary excuses account for more. Harvesting and sugaring, especially the latter, are big offenders. Small children, who can be of no practical assistance, are kept at home.

[2] (p. 39) It was ideal in the sense that it was not always realized in practice. Frequently, the number of students in a grade was not great enough to warrant the expense of a teahcer. This led to the creation of "split rooms" which combined adjacent grades, for instance 2nd and 3rd grade. This practice still persists. Both Paperville Elementary School and Riverton School have split grades in 1976.

[3] (p. 63) For a more extended description of the organization of the three school districts forming North Country Union, see Charles Stannard, "A Social and Educational History of North Country Supervisory Union ", Chapter VII in Fitzsimmons, S.J., P.C. Wolff and Abby J. Freedman (Eds.), *Rural America: A Social and Educational History of Ten Rural Communities*, Cambridge, Mass.: Abt Associates Inc., 1975, pp. 599-613.

[4] (p. 117) No copies of this report exist in New England State, perhaps because the Project Director, when removed from his office at Washington's insistence, said he threw away all files and notes about the project that he had.

[5] (p. 121) The proposal referred specifically to Paperville, not Papertown.

[6] (p. 130) Note that the writers of the proposal did not consider extracurricular activities to be part of the regular school program. Sports events, dances, school plays, etc. all occur after 3:30 and often on weekends.

[7] (p. 133) According to one of North Country Union's project officers, the ES program could not give planning grants per se. Therefore, while unofficially the grant was a "planning grant," he said that the local projects were supposed to begin implementing some of their plans during the first year. The elementary consultant said that during this meeting he suggested to the head of ES that North Country Union needed another year of planning. According to the elementary consultant, the head of ES became "livid" and said: "Damnit, you will not get another year of planning."

[8] (p. 135) The data cited in this section come from in-house reports on visits or telephone conversations with ES/Washington project officers, or, in one instance, an outside consultant.

[9] (p. 145) By 'community' the principal was referring to the Chairman of the Paperville school board. His son had applied for the job and was not even granted an interview. Allegedly, the Chairman was miffed because his son had not even received an explanation of why he was not granted an interview and because the person who was hired did not live in any of the towns in North Country Union.

[10] (p. 165) The Level 1 evaluator position was put into the project at Washington's insistence. The local conception of this evaluation function and Washington's appear to have differed, at least initially. In December the project director, coordinators and a consultant met to discuss program evaluation. During the course of the meeting it was apparent that the director viewed evaluation as connected solely with assessing the impacts that the various components were having in the schools. Further, he and the coordinators did not evince any "felt need" for evaluation; they were considering it because they had to. Washington, on the other hand, saw evaluation as very important, a management tool to judge the effectiveness of the project as a whole, stimulate self-renewal, and guide policy making.

Between this meeting in December and May, the project hired an evaluator. He was an unemployed teacher who alienated the principal of Riverton School when he substituted in Riverton. Between December and May, the evaluator received some training from the consultant in evaluation and attended a workshop on management by objectives. He also was completing a study for a master's degree in education. However, his statistical and methodological sophistication was not great.

[11] (p. 177) People did not give serious consideration to developing the Rocky Stream site and never mentioned hiking to it or even using it. In fact, people were not certain of its exact location.

[12] (p. 184) The plan is unclear as to what exactly a "curriculum overview" and "curriculum guide" are. In listing the activities for the year, the plan states that the curriculum overview and guide will be written during July and August, 1973, and that the revised language arts curriculum will be introduced to the teachers in September 1973.

[13] (p. 226) The ES/Washington Project Officer, however, disputed this when he vistied the site in September.

[14] (p. 233) It is not clear whether anyone had knowledge of this rule before this meeting. The career/vocational coordinator had met with people from the Department of Labor when he was the project director during the planning year. Whether he knew or not (he indicated that he did not), he probably should have known this. Further, the Project Director indicated that he thought that the Superintendent might have been aware of this rule. He said that he thoughtthat it was for this reason that money had been put in the budget ($150 per work site) and earmarked for the work site to defray any expenses. This money was never given to the work sites, however.

[15] (p. 238) Remember that the major issue with psychological services was that of separating ES activities from those paid for by the communities.

[16] (p. 248) Shortly after this the meeting ended. The Project Officer never did express his specific concerns about the project for the board member.

[17] (p. 250) The reference here is to the purchase of the reading series for Woodington School.

Appendix A

Excerpts from the Original North Country ES Project Plan (August 1973)

and

The Revised Plan (August 1974)

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The Original Plan (August 1973)

LANGUAGE ARTS

Statement of Purpose:

The development of a continuous, integrated, sequential curriculum which is relevant to the interests and needs of learners and will provide for pleasurable and rewarding learning experience.

NOTE: Although initial attention and emphasis will be concentrated in the area of Language Arts, each academic area of the K-12 curriculum will become involved, to varying degrees, in the process of adaptation and program change. For example, the Outdoor Education staff consists of representatives from the sciences, the social studies, art, music and guidance. The staff training program has enriched perceptions of the interrelatedness of outdoor education to each of their respective disciplines and the interrelatedness of their eventual integration of aspects of several academic disciplines into an integrated program of instruction.

This process of program change engaged in by ES will require the preparation and involvement of all K-12 classroom teachers employed in the North Country Union. (Appendix III.)

Objectives:

1. Develop a Language Arts curriculum which insures individual responsibility and accountability for their learning activities and decisions.
    a. Develop an instructional structure within which is provided a series of alternative learning and skills development activities--each student selects the alternative activity which best suits his needs, enriches interests, and utilizes abilities.
    b. Classroom group activities and projects which require individual involvement in planning and decision-making activities which are necessary in order to complete assigned tasks.
    c. Out-of-school activities which enhance perceptions and social interaction (e.g., field trips into the community).
    d. Provide for student expectations regarding proposed learning activities (e.g., attitude change, content, projects, self and other evaluation).
    e. Application of a modified contract system--allowing for student self-evaluation based upon perceived abilities and interests.
2. Develop learning situations which allow for and encourage individual 'self-pacing' (Appendix IV) from level-to-level within the K-12 structure--on a limited, selected activity basis.
    a. Provide students with alternative learning and skills development activities. For example:
        1. Individual selection of reading materials.

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2. Personalized spelling.

3. Creative writing.

4. Group projects--provide the opportunity for social interaction.

5. Free listening (listening stations, records, radios, television, etc.).

6. Speaking skills (e.g., Role playing, dialogue construction).

3. Relate the Language Arts curriculum to the needs of individual students and to the total community.

NOTE: Needs can be perceived from two perspectives; that of the individual and that of the teacher. Thus, the assessment of individual student needs requires both teacher and student evaluation of that individual's abilities and consideration (or program-directed content and skills demands at various grade levels).

a. Availability and utilization of multi-level materials, pedagogical strategies, community resource facilities and people.

b. Provide alternative learning situations--provide for self-pacing and meet individual abilities and interests.

c. Assessment of community needs.

d. Adult-oriented activities (e.g., student involvement with individuals and organizations within the community, visitations to the elderly and confined, presentation of plays, and involvement in community/group-sponsored activities and contests).

4. Create a success-oriented Language Arts curriculum which will enhance the development of positive learner self images.

a. Provide alternatives for learning and skills development (e.g., imaginative writing, free choice reading in areas of interest).

b. Utilization of materials which emphasize socialization and self development concepts.

c. Provide for the public display of student talents (e.g., drama, fairs, artistic display).

5. Develop a Language Arts program and structure which will insure continuous, life-long educational involvement.

a. Development of Language Arts-oriented skills which are necessary for life-long educational enrichment (e.g., critical thinking, decision-making, development of senses, comprehension, phonics, word attack, handwriting, spelling, vocabulary, dictionary/research, sentence construction and structure).

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b. Adult-oriented activities (e.g., unstructured creative writing, dramatics, public speaking, and reading--for practical application to life; reading/understanding insurance policies, reading contracts and mortgages).

c. Expose and involve students in activities which will enrich skills development and social interaction (e.g., discussions, field trips, cross-age tutoring).

The Revised Plan (August 1974)

LANGUAGE ARTS

Statement of Purpose:

The development of a continuous, integrated, sequential curriculum which is relevant to the interests and needs of learners and will provide for pleasurable and rewarding learning experiences.

This process of program change engaged in by ES will require the preparation and involvement of all K-12 classroom teachers employed in North Country Union.

****

GOAL 1: Develop a Language Arts curriculum which insures individual responsibility and accountability for their learning activities and decisions.

Objective 1.1: The Language Arts coordinator will assist in the introduction of a basic reading program into North Country Union schools no later than September 1974. The Scott Foresman System will be used as a basis for later individualizing of instruction.

Product Evaluation: The Language Arts coordinator will maintain records to assure that this objective has been met.

Objective 1.2: The Language Arts coordinator will assist in the development of a K-12 Language Arts curriculum which insures individual responsibility and accountability for learning activities and decisions.

Product Evaluation: The Language Arts coordinator will maintain records to assure that this objective has been met.

Activity 1.2.1: The Language Arts coordinator will hold meetings with building principals, and faculty to determine methods of implementation of individualized instruction.

Activity 1.2.2: The Language Arts coordinator will plan and schedule visits to schools in New England State that have an ongoing program of individualized instruction.

Activity 1.2.3: The Language Arts coordinator will review materials on individualized instruction for possible use in North Country Union.

Activity 1.2.4: The Language Arts coordinator will schedule teacher workshops to introduce them to materials and programs related to individualized instruction. With the assistance of the Level I Evaluator, he will assure that:

1. Teachers evaluate the workshop.
2. Language Arts coordinator evaluate the workshop.
3. The Level I Evaluator provide an overall evaluation of workshop effectiveness.

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Process Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will examine component records, conduct visitations and/or interviews to assess the extent these activities have been completed and will make recommendations for further program development.

Objective 1.3: The Language Arts coordinator will meet with local school administrators and teachers to discuss the application of a modified contract system which allows for student self-evaluation.

Product Evaluation: The Language Arts coordinator will maintain records of his meetings with building administrators and teachers.

GOAL 2: Develop learning situations which allow for and encourage individual self-pacing on a limited, selected activity basis.

Objective 2.1: The Language Arts coordinator will develop learning situations for students in grades K-12 which develops individual self-pacing. At the end of the program these students involved will be able to demonstrate an ability to work at their own pace, at an accepted level of accomplishment as measured by commercial and teacher made tests and/or attitudinal scales and questionnaires.

Product Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will assist in the identification and/or development of instruments and will analyze results to determine if this objective has been met.

Activity 2.1.1: The Language Arts coordinator will assist classroom teachers in the identification and utilization of alternative learning and skill development activities.

Process Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will examine component records, conduct visitation and/or interviews to assess the extent these activities have been completed and will make recommendations for further program development.

GOAL 3: Relate the Language Arts curriculum to the needs of the individual student

Objective 3.1: The Language Arts coordinator will utilize the Language Arts program in meeting the Language Arts skills needs of students as determined by the students, teachers and the results of diagnostic testing.

Product Evalution: The Level I Evaluator will assist in the identification of instruments and will analyze the results in determining if this objective has been met.

Activity 3.1.1: The Language Arts coordinator will conduct diagnostic and achievement testing in grades 1-6.

Process Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will examine component records, conduct visitation and/or interviews to assess the extent these activities have been completed and will make recommendations for further program development.

Objective 3.2: The Language Arts coordinator will identify those students in grades 7-8 who are in need of reading remediation and recommend their involvement in a remedial reading program.

Product Evaluation: The Language Arts coordinator will utilize the Durrell Diagnostic Reading Test (Clyner-Barrett Prereading Test, Gates-McGintie) for determining if this objective has been met.

GOAL 4: Create a success-oriented Language Arts curriculum which will enhance the development of positive learner self-images.

Objective 4.1: The Language Arts coordinator will develop a Language Arts curriculum that provides for alternative method of skills development and the development of positive learner self-images. This curriculum will be in use in grades 1-6 by September 1, 1975. By June 1, 1976 those students involved will be able to demonstrate improved skill development and improved self-image as measured by a pre-post model consisting of commercial tests and/or attitudinal scales.

Product Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will assist in the identification and/or development of instruments and will analyze results to assure that this objective has been met.

Activity 4.1.1: The Language Arts coordinator will use such techniques as free choice reading, and imaginative writing in providing alternatives for skill development.

Activity 4.1.2: The Language Arts coordinator will provide for the utilization of materials which emphasize socialization and self-development concepts.

Activity 4.1.3: The Language Arts coordinator will assist in the public display of student talents (dramas, fairs, etc.).

Process Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will examine component records, conduct visitation and/or interviews to assess the extent these activities have been completed and will make recommendations for further program development.

GOAL 5: Develop a Language Arts program and structure which will insure continuous, life-long educational involvement.

Objective 5.1: The Language Arts coordinator will assist the Adult Education coordinator in the development of a structure for the Language Arts program that allows students to continue their education past high school as part of the Adult Education program.

Product Evaluation: The Level I Evaluator will conduct a longitudinal study to determine if high school students involved in the Language Arts program continue their education as part of the Adult Education program.

Appendix B

Sample Lesson Card for the Outdoor Education Component

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Sample Lesson Card for the Outdoor Education Component

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT GRADE RANGE: 4-6

CONCEPT: INDIVIDUAL PLANTS AND ANIMALS CAN BE IDENTIFIED BY THE VARIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THEIR SPECIES

LESSON: (15-20 class days--30 minutes/class)

I. Structural Adaptations (filmstrip/record) OE139-2
Color Adaptations (filmstrip/record) OE139-3
Functional Adaptations (filmstrip/record) OE139-4
Follow-up discussion: Why do things adapt? In what ways does adaptation protect both the individual living thing and the species? Give examples of structural, color, and functional adaptations in selected animals, insects, reptiles, birds, amphibians, and mammals.

II. Diversity: Organisms Change (filmstrip/record) OE138-6
Follow-up discussion: In what ways can nature reclaim a natural area that has been 'destroyed'? What is succession? How can man retard nature's succession?

III.. Learning about Amphibians (filmstrip) OE9-1
Learning about Insects (filmstrip) OE9-2
Some Water Animals (filmstrip) OE9-3
Learning about Birds (filmstrip) OE9-4
Learning about Mammals (filmstrip) OE9-5
Learning about Reptiles (filmstrip) OE9-6
Follow-up discussion: What are one or two characteristics that all of the above share in common? What are some characteristics that differentiate between the above groups? In what ways has each adapted to its environment?

Front of Lesson Card

MATERIALS: Filmstrips/Records

.Learning about Amphibians	(OE9-1)
.Learning about Insects	(OE9-2)
.Some Water Animals	(OE9-3)
.Learning about Birds	(OE9-4)
.Learning about Mammals	(OE9-5)
.Learning about Reptiles	(OE9-6)
.Audubon's Birds of America	(OE145-1 through 6)
.Structural Adaptations	(OE139-2)
.Color Adaptations	(OE139-3)
.Functional Adaptations	(OE139-4)
.Diversity: The Land	(OE138-1)
.Diversity: Land Changes	(OE138-2)
.Diversity: Water	(OE138-3)
.Diversity: Plant Life	(OE138-4)
.Diversity: Animal Life	(OE138-5)
.Diversity: Orgnisms Change	(OE138-6)

Posters/Games

.Ecology (transparencies and duplicating pages) OE147

Readings

.Flowers
.Trees and Shrubs of Northern New England
.Poisonous Plants in the Wilderness

Back of Lesson Card

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Sample Lesson Card for the Outdoor Education Component

(continued)

MATERIALS (continued)

Visu-Packs
- .Wild Animals of the North Country
- .Birds
- .Flowers
- .Insects
- .Fish and Reptiles

Activities Booklets
- .National Wildlife Federation Series
    1. Plants in the Classroom
    2. The Rise and Fall of a Yeast Community
    3. Fish and Water Temperature
    4. Differences in Living Things
    5. Nature Hunt
    6. Oaks, Acorns, Climate and Squirrels
- .Investigations in Ecology--Part II: Plants, Animals and Environment (OE140-144)
    1. Explore a Pond or Stream Community (card 27)
    2. The Pond Aquarium--A Sample Community (card 28)
    3. Construct a Balanced Aquarium (cards 29-30)
    4. Animals in the Soil (cards 33-34)
    5. Seed Dispersal and Plant Survival (card 37)
    6. Insect Cages--How to Build Them (card 41)
    7. Decomposers--Fungi (card 43)
    8. Earthworms (cards 44-47)
    9. Ants are Social Animals (cards 57-58)

Front of Lesson Card

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:
- .Students collect samples of natural environmental vegetation and study its structure, growth, and development
- .Students collect samples of reptiles, insects, birds, mammals, animals, and amphibians and study them in class
- .Students write reports about their selected kind of animal (e.g., reptile, snake, mammal, mole, insect, ants)
- .Students build an ant farm or a balanced aquarium
- .Students draw pictures of selected insects, birds, reptiles, mammals, animals, and/or amphibians
- .Students can visually demonstrate succession in a hypothetical situation
- .Students select a natural area to study: they note the initial situation and visit the area periodically--during the four seasons--to gather evidence of succession
- .Students plant seeds in window boxes and classroom gardens and document their growth and development

VACABULARY:
Characteristics
Species
Diversity
Adaptation
Animals
Amphibians
Insects
Mammals
Reptiles
Birds
Structure
Function
Organisms
Reclaim
Succession

Back of Lesson Card

Appendix C

Sample Environmental and Career Education Lesson Plans

SAMPLE ENVIRONMENTAL/CAREER EDUCATION LESSONS

ENVIRONMENT GRADE RANGE: 4

CONCEPT: Individual plants and animals can be identified by the various characteristics of their species.

LESSON: (10 class days--30-45 minutes/class)

I. Filmstrips from Multi-Media Center

FL-214 The Desert
FL-249 Desert Tortoise
FL-257 Desert Plants
FL-258 Desert Flowers
FL-259 Desert Lizards
FL-260 Desert Snakes
FL-261 Geographic Causes of Deserts
FL-256 The Kangaroo Rat
The Desert: An Example of Adaption (ES)

Follow-up discussion: What plants can be found on the desert? How do these plants live in a desert? How do animals adapt to life in a desert? Name some characteristics of the animals.

II. Film--435/436 Mojave Desert (use on 2 days). Locate this desert? Is it like other deserts you have read about? What lives in this desert? How does life exist here?

III. Vocabulary:

annual
evaporation
dune

fossil
mimicry
oasis

cactus
protective coloration
resin

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES:
- Children select one of four major deserts to research
- Groups of six make a mural of animal and plant life in one of the four major deserts
- Prepare a desert terrarium in the classroom
- Plant cactuses in different types of soil. Make a record of pupil observations
- Children draw pictures of desert animals and plants
- Identify and report on finished pictures

Written by: Paperville Elementary Fourth Grade Teacher

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WORLD OF WORK GRADE RANGE: 6

CONCEPT: To develop a knowledge of various careers found in museum work.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: Acquaint students with various jobs related to a museum.

LESSON: (first day--15 or 20 minutes discussion)
(second day--field trip--time depends upon distance and how long you feel your class should spend in the museum.)

ACTIVITIES:

1. Discuss purpose of museum and various people who work in a museum.

2. Visit St. James Museum, while there students fill out individual charts with the following information:

   A. List five exhibits. For each exhibit:
      a. What does this exhibit teach us?
      b. Sketch a picture of the exhibit.
      c. What careers are related to this exhibit?

   B. Then list all the different jobs you can find relating to museum work. (This is a sample list that one of the students made--she had 36 related careers!)

CAREERS

secretary
archeologists
sociologist
taxidermist
carpenters
publishers
artists
tailors
authors
oceanographers
fishing people
managers
alarm makers
sales people
bird catchers
book makers
architects
collectors
hunters
egypitologist
historian
geologist
clockmakers
coin collectors
doll makers
astronauts
clerk
instrument makers
toy makers
janitor
snake catcher
tour guides
fish hunting people
electricians
plumber
movers

3. When you return--class discussion on the above two questions.

SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES: Start a classroom museum
Interview some of the museum workers

Written by: Paperville Elementary Sixth Grade Teacher

Appendix D

Basic Language Arts Skills List

BASIC LANGUAGE ARTS SKILLS

GRADE 6

SKILLS

I. READING SKILLS

A. Phonics and Work Attack
1. Knows most common rules governing consonants
2. Knows common rules governing vowels
3. Is familiar with the meaning of prefixes and suffixes
4. Knows rules for syllabication
5. Recognizes possessive forms of words on a 6th grade level
6. Recognizes words with silent letters (6th grade level)

B. Word Recognition
1. Knows rules for use of context clues
2. Knows rules for use of picture clues
3. Recognizes written forms of colloquial speech found in this area
4. Knows homonyms, synonyms, etc. on a 6th grade level

C. Comprehension
1. Can take relevant notes from material on a 6th grade level
2. Can keep events in proper sequence
3. Knows how to skim written material to find pertinent information
4. Can find the main idea in a paragraph
5. Can find the main idea in a short story
6. Can locate information in a short story
7. Can interpret descriptive words and phrases
8. Can follow written directions
9. Can summarize a paragraph
10. Can select facts to support main idea
11. Can find and use table of contents, charts, pictures, and index to find information
12. Can outline information found in a paragraph

D. Literature
1. Can determine character traits
2. Can identify character and conflict
3. Can identify plot of a story on 6th grade level
4. Can identify mood of a story on 6th grade level
5. Can identify the different types of writing (e.g., play, short story, novel, etc.)
6. Is familiar with different types of poetry (haiku, cinquaine, lyric, etc.)

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II. WRITING SKILLS

A. Formal Writing

1. Writes coherent sentences
2. Can write a paragraph in proper form
3. Can write an explanatory paragraph
4. Can write a descriptive paragraph
5. Can write a brief report
6. Can write a book report
7. Knows proper form for outline
8. Can put resource material into own words
9. Can write letters using proper form for each type
10. Can use common reference in preparing a report

B. Creative Writing

1. Can write a story of several paragraphs in length
2. Can write a simple poem (haiku, lyric, etc.)
3. Can write different kinds of imaginative stories (fables, myths, etc.)

III. LANGUAGE SKILLS

A. Grammar and Sentence Structure

1. Knows basic classes of words: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc.
2. Understands subject and verb agreement
3. Can identify a complete sentence, an incomplete sentence and a run-on sentence
4. Knows sentence parts: subject and predicate
5. Knows proper use of the verb 'to be'
6. Knows tenses of verbs

B. Mechanics

1. Uses basic punctuation properly
2. Understands the purpose and use of quotation marks and how to punctuate them
3. Knows most irregular plurals
4. Knows when to and when not to use a comma
5. Knows possessive nouns and pronouns

C. Dictionary Skills

1. Can interpret diacritical markings
2. Can interpret key to pronunciation
3. Can interpret phonetic respellings
4. Is familiar with primary and secondary accent
5. Can determine correct dictionary meaning

D. Other Reference Skills

1. Can use a card catalog to find specific books or subject matter
2. Knows where to find bibliographical data (title, copyright date, etc.)
3. Knows how to use biographies, atlases, encyclopedias, etc. as reference materials
4. Can summarize material gathered from reference books
5. Can use a thesaurus to find synonyms

IV. ORAL AND LISTENING COMMUNICATION SKILLS

A. Oral Skills
   1. Public Speaking
      a. Can give an oral report
      b. Takes part in plays using proper expression
      c. Can participate in a classroom discussion
   2. Group Work
      a. Works with others in groups
      b. Knows proper behavior for working with groups

B. Listening Skills
   1. Listens to others in class without interruption
   2. Can follow oral directions

Appendix E

NORTH COUNTRY ES PROJECT BUDGET 1976-79

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COMPONENT	1976-1977 NIE	1976-1977 LOCAL	1977-1978 NIE	1977-1978 LOCAL	1978-1979 LOCAL
ADULT EDUCATION	$ 720.00[1]	$ 600.00[2]	$ ---	$ 600.00	$ 775.00
CAREER/VOCATIONAL EDUCATION					
Personnel Certificated .Coordinator	$12,990.00[3]	$ ---	$ 5,500.00[4]	$ ---	$ 7,000.00[5]
.Building Trades Instructor	5,000.00[6]	5,000.00[7]	---	10,000.00[8]	10,700.00
.Teacher Training	750.00	---	---	---	---
Personnel-Classified .Clerical Help	200.00	---	125.00	---	---
Instructional Supplies	4,000.00[9]	750.00[10]	1,000.00[11]	1,050.00[12]	1,050.00
Office Supplies	500.00	---	300.00	---	---
Service Contracts .Mini Course Instruction for	1,200.00[13]	---	---	900.00[14]	900.00
.Staff Development Consultants and Materials	200.00	---	---	100.00	100.00
Travel .Coordinator - out-of-union	200.00	---	100.00	100.00 (Only if a coord. is funded locally)	200.00 (Only if the coord. is a full-time position)
Transportation .Coordinator - in-union	600.00[15]	---	300.00	300.00 (Only if a coord. is funded locally)	600.00 (Only if the coord. is a full-time position)
.Field Trips	500.00	350.00	---	350.00	500.00
Equipment .Forms for pouring concrete	1.500.00[16]	---	---	---	---

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COMPONENT	1976-1977 NIE	1976-1977 LOCAL	1977-1978 NIE	1977-1978 LOCAL	1978-1979 LOCAL
.Mini Courses	$ 500.00	$ ----	$ ----	$ ----	$ ----
Fixed Charges	1,900.00	500.00	650.00	1,000.00	1,770.00
.Blue Cross/ Blue Sheild Coverage	Under Administration	200.00	Under Administration	200.00	300.00
LANGUAGE ARTS					
Personnel-Certificated					
.Coordinator	8,000.00[17]	----	1,000.00[18]	----	1,000.00[19]
.Teacher Training	750.00	----	----	----	----
.Remedial Reading Instructors	2,000.00[20]	----	----	1,000.00	1,000.00
.Resource Room Coordinator(s)	----	----	----	200.00	200.00
Personnel-Classified					
.Clerical Help	115.00	----	----	----	----
Service Contracts					
.Mini Course Instructor	600.00[21]	----	----	----	----
.Staff Development Consultants and Materials	1,000.00	----	----	200.00	100.00
.Teacher Training Seminar	----	----	500.00	----	----
Instructional Supplies	4,000.00[22]	350.00	1,500.00	775.00	800.00
Office Supplies	600.00	----	----	----	----
Travel					
.Coordinator - out-of-union	100.00	----	----	----	----

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COMPONENT	1976-1977 NIE	1976-1977 LOCAL	1977-1978 NIE	1977-1978 LOCAL	1978-1979 LOCAL
Transportation .Coordinator - in-union	$ 300.00	$ ——	$ ——	$ ——	$ ——
Fixed Charges	1,100.00	——	100.00	120.00	220.00
.Blue Cross/ Blue Shield Coverage	Under Administration	——	——	——	——
ENVIRONMENTAL/OUTDOOR EDUCATION					
Personnel-Certificated .Coordinator	4,000.00[23]	——	——	——	——
.OE Staff Leader(s)	500.00[24]	——	——	500.00	500.00
.Resource Room Coordinator	——	——	——	200.00	200.00
Personnel-Classified .Clerical Help	115.00	——	——	——	——
Service Contracts .Staff Development Consultants and Materials	200.00	——	——	100.00	100.00
.OE Staff Training Consultants/Workshops	200.00	——	——	——	——
Instructional Supplies	2,000.00[25]	250.00	500.00	300.00	300.00
Office Supplies	400.00	——	——	——	——
Travel .Coordinator - out-of-union	100.00	——	——	——	——
Transportation .Coordinator - in-union	300.00	——	——	——	——

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COMPONENT	1976-1977 NIE	1976-1977 LOCAL	1977-1978 NIE	1977-1978 LOCAL	1978-1979 LOCAL
.Field Trips	$ 500.00	$ 200.00	$ ----	$ 200.00	$ 200.00
Fixed Charges	460.00	----	----	70.00	70.00
.Blue Cross/ Blue Shield Coverage	Under Administration	----	----	----	----
PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES	----	750.00[26]	----	900.00	900.00
ADMINISTRATION					
Personnel-Certificated					
.Project Director	15,370.00[27]	----	16,292.00	----	----
Personnel-Classified					
.Secretary/Bookkeeper	6,500.00[28]	----	6,890.00	----	----
.Clerical Help	230.00	----	500.00[29]	----	----
Office Supplies	1,500.00	----	1,500.00[30]	----	----
Travel					
.Project Director out-of-union	1,000.00	----	500.00	----	----
Transportation					
.Project Director in-union	600.00	----	600.00	----	----
Utilities	1,000.00	----	1,000.00	----	----
Fixed Charges	2,250.00	----	2,400.00	----	----
.Blue Cross/ Blue Shield Coverage	800.00[31]	----	500.00[32]	----	----

EVALUATION The North Country Union districts will continue reading, career awareness, achievement testing.

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BUDGET EXPLAINATION

1.	Adult Education	The sum of $720.00 to financially support instructors (at $120.00 per course) for six (6) courses.
2.	Adult Education	The sums of $600.00 (1976-1977)/$600.00 (1977-1978)/$775.00 (1978-1979) of local/state money to provide instructors/courses to community members.
3.	Career/Vocational Education	Full-time component coordinator paid for by the project.
4.	"	Half-time component coordinator paid for by the project.
5.	"	$7,000.00 of local money to a half-time coordinator (local and/or state money).
6.	"	Half-time building trades instructor for the 11th grade mini course paid for by the project.
7.	"	Local support of half-time building trades instructor for the 12th grade house building program.
8.	"	The sums of $10,000.00 and $10,700.00 of local/state money for a full-time building trades instructor.
9.	"	$4,000.00 to buy instructional materials for the resource room - to include purchase of Cornell Career Awareness Tests for schools.
10.	"	Local AV and Library materials monies earmarked for career/vocational education instructional materials.
11.	"	$1,000.00 to buy instructional materials for the resource room.
12.	"	Local AV and Library materials monies earmarked for career/vocational education instructional materials.
13.	"	The sum of $1,200.00 to provide instructors for four (4) non-building trades related mini courses; at $300.00 per course.
14.	"	Local money to support three (3) mini courses for both 1977-1978 and 1978-1979
15.	"	To provide the coordinator with a monthly in-union travel allowance of $50.00 (full-time position).

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BUDGET EXPLAINATION

16.	Career/Vocational Education	11th grade building trades mini course students would use materials purchased with $1,500.00 to make and erect forms to pour concrete house foundations or forms would be purchased with the $1,500.00 and students would erect the forms - as part of their 11th grade course instruction.
17.	Language Arts	Salary for a 2/3rd-time coordinator - 12 months.
18 and 19.	"	Money to pay a building level staff member for supervising program coordination, Kid's Corner, program development, etc.
20.	"	The sum of $2,000.00 to hire, 7th-8th grade remedial reading instructors at the rate of $5.00 per hour.
21.	"	$600.00 to provide an instructor for two (2) 10 week long communications skills mini courses: $300.00 per course.
22.	"	$4,000.00 for the purchase of resource room instructional materials.
23.	Environmental/Outdoor Education	The sum of $4,000.00 in salary for a 1/3rd-time coordinator for 12 months.
24.	"	The sum of $500.00 to pay volunteer OE leaders to conduct weekend hikes/trips for students.
25.	"	The sum of $2,000.00 to purchase resource room instructional materials
26.	Psychological Services	Local money to support continued student testing and consultations to teachers.
27.	Administration	Full-time director for 12 months.
28.	"	Full-time secretary/bookkeeper for 12 months.
29.	"	To provide part-time clerical help - to type masters and runoff materials for reports, etc.
30.	"	To provide materials for the administration component as well as for Language Arts and EE the 5th project year.
31.	"	The sum of $800.00 to provide Blue Cross/Blue Shield Coverage for four (4) full-time employees; at $200.00 per full-time.

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BUDGET EXPLAINATION

32. Administration	The sum of $500.00 to provide Blue Cross/Blue Shield Coverage for two (2) full-time employees and one (1) half-time employee; at $200.00 per full-time person.

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STAFFING PROFILE

COMPONENT	1976-1977 NIE	1976-1977 LOCAL	1977-1978 NIE	1977-1978 LOCAL	1978-1979 LOCAL
ADULT EDUCATION	Local Instructors	Local Instructors	---	Local Instructors	Local Instructors
CAREER/VOCATIONAL EDUCATION (1975-1976)					
.Full-time Coordinator (12 months)	Full-time Coordinator	---	Half-time Coordinator	---	Half-time Coordinator
.Half-time Building Trades Instructor	Half-time Building Trades Instructor	---	---	Full-time Building Trades Instructor	Full-time Building Trades Instructor
.Part-time Clerical Help	Part-time Clerical Help	---	Clerical Help	---	---
.Mini Course Instructors	Mini Course Instructors	---	---	Mini Course Instructors	Mini Course Instructors
.Staff Development Consultants	Staff Development Consultants	---	---	Staff Development Consultants	Staff Development Consultants
LANGUAGE ARTS (1975-1976)					
.Full-time Coordinator (12 months)	2/3rd-time Coordinator	---	Building Level Personnel	---	Building Level Personnel
.Remedial Reading Instructors	Remedial Reading Instructors	---	---	Remedial Reading Instructors	Remedial Reading Instructors
.—————————	---	---	---	Resource Room Coordinator	Resource Room Coordinator
.Clerical Help	Clerical Help	---	---	---	---

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	1976-1977		1977-1978		1978-1979
COMPONENT	NIE	LOCAL	NIE	LOCAL	LOCAL
. ———————	Communication Skills Mini Course Instructor	---	---	---	---
.Staff Development Consultants	Staff Development Consultants	---	---	Staff Development Consultants	Staff Development Consultants
ENVIRONMENTAL/OUTDOOR EDUCATION (1975-1976)					
.Full-time Coordinator (10 months)	1/3rd-time Coordinator	---	---	---	---
.OE Staff	OE Staff Leaders	---	---	OE Staff Leaders	OE Staff Leaders
. ———————	---	---	---	Resource Room Coordinator	Resource Room Coordinator
.Clerical Help	Clerical Help	---	---	---	---
.Staff Development Consultants	Staff Development Consultants	---	---	Staff Development Consultants	Staff Development Consultants
PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES (1975-1976)					
.Contracted Services under Career/Vocational Education and Language Arts	---	Testing/ Consulting	---	Testing/ Consulting	Testing/ Consulting
EVALUATION (1975-1976)					
.Full-time (10 months) Level I Evaluator	---	Testing and recordkeeping	---	Testing and recordkeeping	Testing and recordkeeping
ADMINISTRATION (1975-1976)					
.Full-time Project Director (12 months)	Full-time Director	---	Full-time Director	---	---

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COMPONENT	1976-1977 NIE	 LOCAL	1977-1978 NIE	 LOCAL	1978-1979 LOCAL
.Full-time Secretary/ Bookkeeper	Full-time Secretary/ Bookkeeper	---	Full-time Secretary/ Bookkeeper	---	---
.Clerical Help	Clerical Help	---	Clerical Help	---	---

Section VI

1978-1979
SOURCES OF LOCAL FUNDING

COMPONENT	
ADULT EDUCATION	Local and/or state money ($775.00) to financially support six (6) adult education course instructors.
CAREER/VOCATIONAL EDUCATION	
. coordinator	Half-time coordinator supported with local and/or state money.
. building trades instructor	Full-time position financed with local money gained from the sale of the 12th grade constructed house (local project of Building Trades Trust and the Northumberland/Stratford school districts)
. mini course instructor(s)	possibly use building personnel or finance the instructor(s) with local money.
. staff development consultants and materials	Use of earmarked funds for staff development.
. instructional supplies	Earmarking of budgeted av and library materials monies
. travel	districts pay this new expense
. transportation	
. coordinator	districts pay this new expense
. field trips	earmarking of regularly budgeted monies - at the district level(s)

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LANGUAGE ARTS

. building level personnel	Payment out of district monies for extra-curricular services
. remedial reading instructors	Districts raise monies to provide instructors; possibly use existing staff to provide instruction to students.
. resource room coordinator(s)	Payment out of district monies for extra-services
. staff development consultants and materials	Use of earmarked staff development funds.
. instructional materials	Earmarking of budgeted monies (av and library materials).

ENVIRONMENTAL/OUTDOOR EDUCATION.

. OE staff leader(s)	Payment out of district monies for extra-curricular services.
. resource room coordinator(s)	Payment out of district monies for extra-services.
. staff development consultants and materials	Use of earmarked staff development funds
. instructional materials	Earmarking of budgeted monies (av and library materials)
. field trips	Earmarking of regularly budgeted monies - at the district level(s)

PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES

. testing/consulting	Use of district monies which are earmarked for this purpose.

VALUATION

. testing	Use of district monies which are earmarked for this purpose.

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School Supervisory North Country Union
Experimental Schools Program

Contract #: NE-C-00-3-0293

	1973-1974 Actual	1974-1975 Actual	1975-1976 Budget	1976-1977 Est.		1977-1978 Est.		1978-1979 LOCAL	TOTAL FEDERAL FUNDING
				ESP NIE	LOCAL	ESP NIE	LOCAL		
TOTAL PROJECT	$ 101,824.33	$ 101,266.07	$ * 115,650.00	$ 87,380.00	$ 5,750.00	$ 42,757.00	$ 17,765.00	$ 27,935.00	$ 448,877.40
ADULT EDUCATION:									
.Instructional Sup.	149.34	276.68	100.00	------	------	------	------	--------	526.02
.Service Contracts	600.00	1,092.00	1,080.00	720.00	600.00	------	600.00	775.00	3,492.00
Career/Vocational Ed.:									
.Personnel-Cert.	8,807.45	12,730.00	18,980.00	18,740.00	5,000.00	6,500.00	10,000.00	17,700.00	65,757.45
.Personnel-Class.	600.00	524.00	200.00	230.00	------	125.00	------	--------	1,679.00
.Instructional Sup.	1,005.49	996.10	1,500.00	4,000.00	750.00	1,000.00	1,050.00	1,050.00	8,501.59
.Office Supplies	224.95	285.05	250.00	500.00	------	300.00	------	--------	1,560.00
.Service Contracts	1,949.60	2,757.90	4,560.00	1,400.00	------	------	1,000.00	1,000.00	10,667.50
.Travel	214.16	498.82	200.00	200.00	------	100.00	100.00	200.00	1,212.98
.Transportation	532.80	1,167.35	1,900.00	1,100.00	350.00	300.00	650.00	1,100.00	4,700.15
.Equipment	871.12	2,928.75	4,000.00	2,000.00	------	------	------	--------	9,799.87
.Fixed Charges	550.41	948.74	2,100.00	1,900.00	500.00	650.00	1,000.00	1,770.00	6,149.15
LANGUAGE ARTS:									
.Personnel-Cert.	15,235.00	11,431.70	13,202.00	10,750.00	------	1,000.00	------	1,000.00	51,618.70
.Personnel-Class.	48.50	249.00	200.00	115.00	------	------	------	--------	612.50
.Instructional Sup.	2,530.20	4,974.48	2,000.00	4,000.00	350.00	1,500.00	775.00	800.00	15,004.68
.Office Supplies	337.65	194.29	350.00	600.00	------	------	------	--------	1,481.94
.Service Contracts	277.95	743.00	3,800.00	1,600.00	------	500.00	200.00	100.00	6,920.95
.Travel	484.45	411.90	285.00	100.00	------	------	------	--------	1,281.35
.Transportation	450.00	600.00	800.00	300.00	------	------	------	--------	2,150.00
.Capital Outlay	1,702.57	--------	--------	--------	------	------	------	--------	1,702.57
.Equipment	4,762.27	3,150.00	--------	--------	------	------	------	--------	7,912.27
.Fixed Charges	896.40	802.49	1,600.00	1,100.00	------	100.00	120.00	220.00	4,498.89

* 1975-1976 budget based upon approved budget -- as of November 1975.

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	1973-1974 Actual	1974-1975 Actual	1975-1976 Budget	1976-1977 Est.		1977-1978 Est.		1978-1979 LOCAL	TOTAL FEDERAL FUNDING
				ESP NIE	LOCAL	ESP NIE	LOCAL		
ENVIRONMENTAL/OUTDOOR EDUCATION:									
.Personnel-Cert	3,975.00	6,159.66	10,350.00	4,500.00	—	—	700.00	700.00	24,984.66
.Personnel-Class.	19.00	—	100.00	115.00	—	—	—	—	234.00
.Instructional Sup.	1,309.24	999.45	1,000.00	2,000.00	250.00	500.00	300.00	300.00	6,058.69
.Office Supplies	—	—	—	400.00	—	—	—	—	400.00
.Service Contracts	1,070.00	25.00	200.00	400.00	—	—	100.00	100.00	1,695.00
.Travel	—	236.08	100.00	100.00	—	—	—	—	436.08
.Transportation	215.95	989.50	2,000.00	800.00	200.00	—	200.00	200.00	4,005.45
.Equipment	1,771.91	477.50	500.00	—	—	—	—	—	2,749.41
.Fixed Charges	265.04	432.62	900.00	460.00	—	—	70.00	70.00	2,037.66
PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES:									
.Service Contracts	4,200.00	3,720.00	—	—	750.00	—	900.00	900.00	7,920.00
EVALUATION:									
.Personnel-Cert.	2,147.50	5,064.00	8,150.00	—	—	—	—	—	15,361.50
.Personnel-Class.	—	256.12	100.00	—	—	—	—	—	356.12
.Instructional Sup.	1,396.65	1,432.48	500.00	—	—	—	—	—	3,329.13
.Office Supplies	429.99	448.71	300.00	—	—	—	—	—	1,178.70
.Service Contracts	1,600.00	—	500.00	—	—	—	—	—	2,100.00
.Travel	263.94	1,049.97	300.00	—	—	—	—	—	1,613.91
.Transportation	100.00	275.00	500.00	—	—	—	—	—	875.00
.Equipment	1,073.38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,073.38
.Fixed Charges	125.65	476.39	780.00	—	—	—	—	—	1,382.04
ADMINISTRATION:									
.Personnel-Cert.	26,743.77	20,641.42	15,500.00	15,370.00	—	16,292.00	—	—	93,947.19
.Personnel-Class.	4,301.00	6,114.25	6,465.00	6,730.00	—	7,390.00	—	—	31,498.25
.Office Supplies	1,440.58	1,492.49	1,600.00	1,500.00	—	1,500.00	—	—	7,533.07
.Service Contracts	—	—	2,000.00	—	—	—	—	—	2,000.00
.Travel	872.92	926.92	2,200.00	1,000.00	—	500.00	—	—	5,499.84
.Transportation	600.00	600.00	600.00	600.00	—	600.00	—	—	3,000.00
.Equipment	1,973.27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,973.27
.Fixed Charges	2,288.56	2,410.44	3,400.00	3,050.00	—	2,900.00	—	—	14,049.00
.Utilities	480.67	875.32	1,000.00	1,000.00	—	1,000.00	—	—	4,356.49